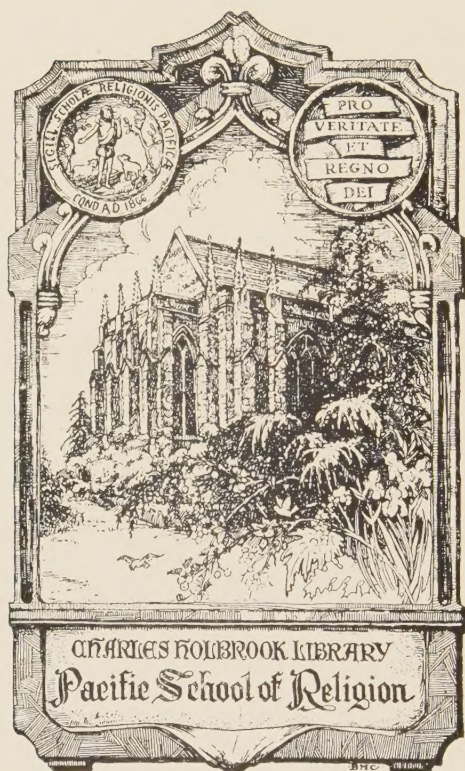




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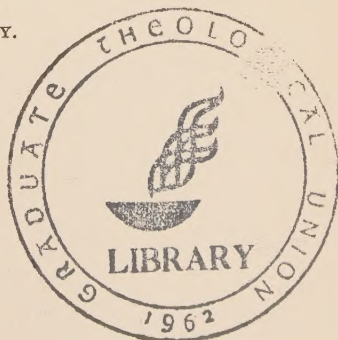
PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 20



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

1911



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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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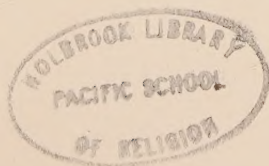
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as Past President of the Society.



OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

PREFACE.

The preparation and editing of the present volume were entrusted to the following committee on publication: Albert M. Friedenbergl, Esq., chairman, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald and Dr. Cyrus Adler.

The papers by Messrs. Marx, Cohen and Oppenheim were presented at the annual meeting of the Society at Philadelphia, in February, 1911. Those by Messrs. Kohler, Pool, Friedman, Hackenburg and Hartogensis date from the meeting at New York, in February, 1910. Mr. Hühner's paper was submitted at the annual meeting held in Philadelphia, in February, 1909.

An analytical index of Nos. 1 to 20 inclusive, of the *Publications* of the Society is now in course of preparation. When completed, it will be issued to members in book form.

NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The nineteenth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, corner Broad and Walnut Streets, in Philadelphia. It began on the morning of February 12, 1911, continued on the afternoon and evening of that day and concluded on the morning of February 13, 1911. The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, who was in the chair, delivered the following address of welcome at the opening session:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am glad in the name of the Society to welcome you to our Nineteenth Annual Meeting. You will see by the programme that there is much work to be done and that many papers are offered for your instruction and your consideration. It is a pleasure to see the circle of workers widened. After the Society had been in existence a few years, the fear was expressed that our materials were exhausted, but this you will observe is not the case.

The objects of our Society are "The collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American continent and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent." The latter part of this clause from our Constitution, which was adopted a few years since, widens our scope greatly and while most of our papers are still, and for all I know may always be, devoted to American Jewish history, it is well that our horizon should not be limited.

A few weeks since, five of the most ancient and important learned institutions in the United States—all of them located in Philadelphia—the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania, the Academy of Natural Sciences and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, joined in a tribute to the distinguished historian, Henry

C. Lea who was an honorary member of our Society and of whom we published in our last volume a noteworthy memorial by Professor George Lincoln Burr, of Cornell University. Among the addresses delivered on this occasion was one by that well-known scholar and public man, the Right Honorable James Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington. My object in alluding to this occasion is to give a brief extract from the address of Mr. Bryce which has a special significance for us. Mr. Bryce called attention to the fact that while so many young scholars and historians were busy studying the history of the original thirteen colonies and the United States, they should not forget that the history of Europe was a part of their history and they should not neglect their part of the duty of writing it. They should not forget that theirs was a common history before the seventeenth century.

We of the American Jewish Historical Society can equally say that with all the Jews of the world and of all time we had a common history before our settlement upon this continent and in cultivating thoroughly, as we ought to do, our own particular field, small in time and space compared with our whole history, we owe a duty, so far as we are able to fulfill it, to larger Jewish history as well.

I am reasonably content with the development of our Society. We have cause to be satisfied with the nineteen volumes of material which we have thus far published. I want especially to acknowledge the generosity of the members and friends of the Society in contributing in response to my appeal the sum of over \$5000 toward a Publication Fund* which will enable us to issue more valuable material than could have been done with our regular funds. Our membership, however, is insufficient in numbers from two points of view. We need the help of more members and I think that more people need the spirit of interest in historical research and in the history of the Jewish people in this country and elsewhere which it is our special province to promote. We ought to popularize the knowledge which has been brought together by members of this Society concerning our own field. It is not unusual to hear the statement made at banquets or in conventions by orators and speakers that the history of the Jewish people in America began in 1848 or 1858 or some other recent date. As a matter of fact the Jewish people came to this continent with its discovery. They have been in North America since 1655. They formed congregations in New York, Newport,

* See *infra*, p. xiii.

Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah and Richmond before the Revolutionary period. They gained their rights as citizens before the American Revolution, before the French Revolution, before the advent of modern German philosophy. They presented their views upon public questions with dignity to the Continental Congress and to our first great President. In spite of the difficulties of transportation of men and of news, they were able to unite for a common cause even in the eighteenth century.

Happily they came to a land in which Roger Williams had planted the seeds of absolute religious liberty as against the toleration which the rest of the world had known heretofore and which it has not yet quite unlearned. What I want to emphasize is that the institutions of the Jews in America for congregational life, for charity, even for scholarship and learning, were laid in the very beginning of this Republic, indeed before the Republic came into existence and that statements to the contrary smack rather of the *odium theologicum* than of historical truth.

The officers presented their annual reports. The corresponding secretary, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, stated that the Society now had 312 members—3 honorary, 45 corresponding and 264 active members, 4 of the last being life members—a larger number than at any previous time. Publication No. 19 had been issued and distributed on November 1, 1910.

The curator, Mr. Leon Hühner, submitted his report. Mr. Hühner also reported for the committee on the Lyons Collection. This committee, as a result of the resignation of Mr. Max J. Kohler, in May, 1910, now consists of Messrs. Leon Hühner, chairman, N. Taylor Phillips, Herbert Friedenwald, Albert M. Friedenberg, and David de Sola Pool.

The treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, reported for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1910. His report, which is subjoined, was referred to Messrs. Lee Kohns and L. Napoleon Levy, of New York, for audit.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1909.....	\$ 238.81
Members' dues and back dues.....	1,075.00
Redemption of New York City Revenue Bond, November 1, 1909	1,000.00
Donations to the Lyons Collection Publication Fund.....	970.00
Interest on Revenue Bond.....	\$30.00
Sales of Publications.....	22.15
Leon Hühner, Curator, refund account merchandise bought	2.33
	54.48
	\$3,338.29

EXPENSES.

Lord Baltimore Press, printing Publication No. 17, \$739.22 and advertising leaflet of publications, \$8.00.....	\$ 747.22
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	550.91
Disbursements, Corresponding Secretary's office.....	189.20
Disbursements, Curator's office.....	136.30
Fire Insurance Premium.....	22.50
Printing Programme 18th Annual Meeting.....	19.75
Disbursements for 18th Annual Meeting.....	10.39
Disbursements, Publication Committee.....	9.28
Rental Safe Deposit Box.....	5.00
Exchanges National City Bank.....	2.10
Balance with Treasurer, October 1, 1910:	
Publication Fund	970.00
General Fund	675.64
	\$3,338.29

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 1, 1910.

Balance in the National City Bank of New York:	
Publication Fund	\$ 970.00
General Fund	675.64
Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y.....	2,091.82
	\$3,737.46

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE LYONS COLLECTION PUBLICATION FUND.

Dr. Cyrus Adler.....\$ 25.00	Hon. Irving Lehman...\$ 25.00
Eugene S. Benjamin.... 50.00	Louis E. Levy..... 10.00
Emile Berliner 100.00	Samuel D. Lit..... 100.00
Bernard Bernheim 50.00	Louis Marshall 250.00
Isaac W. Bernheim.... 100.00	Clinton O. Mayer..... 5.00
Abe Bloch 5.00	William Morris 10.00
Bernard Bruenn 5.00	Edgar J. Nathan..... 10.00
Alfred M. Cohen..... 5.00	Adolph S. Ochs..... 25.00
Charles J. Cohen..... 25.00	Samuel Oppenheim 10.00
Rabbi Henry Cohen.... 5.00	Jacob Ottenheimer 5.00
Mr. & Mrs. Mendes Cohen 50.00	Morris Pfaelzer 100.00
Harry Cutler 10.00	Rev. Dr. David Philipson 10.00
Simon Dalsheimer 10.00	Hon. N. Taylor Phillips 25.00
Emanuel Dreifus 10.00	Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach 5.00
Abram I. Elkus..... 25.00	Julius Rosenwald1000.00
Miss Emma Feucht-	William Salomon 100.00
wanger 10.00	Rev. Dr. Samuel Schul-
Arthur A. Fleisher.... 10.00	man 5.00
Albert M. Friedenbergs.. 5.00	Hon. Jacob H. Schiff...1000.00
Dr. Herbert Friedenwald 25.00	Mortimer L. Schiff..... 25.00
Mrs. Jane Friedenwald. 50.00	Isaac N. Seligman..... 250.00
Lee M. Friedman..... 5.00	Shearith Israel Congre-
Louis Gerstley 25.00	gation, New York.... 250.00
Samuel Grabfelder 250.00	A. D. Straus..... 5.00
Rev. Dr. Louis Gross-	Isidor Straus 200.00
mann 5.00	S. M. Stroock..... 50.00
Hon. Simon Guggenheim 200.00	Hon. Mayer Sulzberger. 100.00
J. H. Hagedorn..... 25.00	Oscar B. Teller..... 5.00
Mrs. Charles Hendricks. 25.00	Isaac M. Ullman..... 25.00
Samuel L. Hyman..... 5.00	Moses R. Walter..... 5.00
Samuel M. Hyneman... 5.00	Felix M. Warburg..... 250.00
Lee Kohns 100.00	Arthur S. Wiener..... 5.00
Manuel A. Kursheedt.. 10.00	Edwin Wolf 25.00
Hon. Samson Lachman. 5.00	Hon. Simon Wolf..... 10.00
Dr. B. Lapowski..... 5.00	
Edward Lauterbach 10.00	
	\$5150.00

NOTE.—All of the foregoing have been paid.

The Chair named the following Committee on Nominations: Messrs. L. Napoleon Levy and A. S. Freidus, of New York, and Clinton O. Mayer, of Philadelphia. They reported and the following officers were thereupon unanimously elected:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C.; Corresponding Secretary, Albert M. Friedenbergs, New York; Recording Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, New York; Treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York; Curator, Leon Hühner, New York. Additional Members of the Executive Council: Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.; J. Bunford Samuel, Philadelphia, Pa.; Max J. Kohler, New York; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Joseph Jacobs, New York; Charles J. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Alexander Marx, New York; Prof. Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Charles J. Cohen, of Philadelphia, exhibited a pen and ink drawing, made by the late Moses Finzi Lobo, of the procession to the consecration of the Mikve Israel Synagogue, in Philadelphia, 1859. He also exhibited a portrait in oil of the late Joseph Simon Cohen, of Philadelphia.

The thanks of the Society were extended to the Misses Mordecai, of Philadelphia, for their gift of the original address of the congregation at Charleston, S. C., to President George Washington.

The question of establishing a permanent fund, to consist of the present deposit of the Society in the National Savings Bank, Albany, N. Y., and bequests and life members' payments, was referred to the executive council for suitable action. Dr. Adler made a few remarks on the practicability of American Jewish congregations depositing their archives and records with the Society for proper preservation. On

motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the management of the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford for their courtesy in permitting the nineteenth annual meeting to be held on their premises.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at the session of February 13, 1911:

R. Hammett Tilley, by Miss Edith May Tilley; Joseph Loth, by Isidor Metzger; Joseph Friedenwald, by Benjamin H. Hartogensis; A. S. Solomons, by Louis Marshall; David Sulzberger, by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

The following papers were read:

Albert M. Friedenbergl, of New York: (1) "A Letter from Caleb Cushing concerning the Jews of Spain;" (2) "Further Facts concerning Moses Wassermann."

Rev. Barnett A. Elzas, of New York: "The First Reformed Jewish Prayer Book in America, and The Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston, S. C."

J. Bunford Samuel, of Philadelphia: "Sir Robert Peel on Jewish Disabilities in the House of Commons."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: (1) "Mordecai M. Noah. A Letter to him, dated 1822, from Eduard Gans and Leopold Zunz, relating to the Emigration of German Jews to America;" (2) "The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1664-1734;" (3) "A List of Jews Made Denizens in the Reigns of Charles II. and James II., 1662-1687."

Isaac Markens, of New York: "Isaac Friedlander, California Pioneer."

Benjamin H. Hartogensis, of Baltimore: (1) "Christian Prelates of Baltimore and Russo-Jewish Persecutions;" (2) "Notes on Early Jewish Settlers of Baltimore City."

Harold Korn, of New York: "Contemporaneous Newspaper References of Jewish Interest from the Revolutionary Period, 1761-1789."

Leon Hühner, of New York: (1) "David L. Yulee, Florida's First Senator;" (2) "The Jew in Music in Amer-

ica;" (3) "Jefferson's Contemplated Offer in 1804 of the Post of Attorney-General of the United States to Moses (?) Levy, of Philadelphia."

Prof. Alexander Marx, of New York: "Societies and Museums for the Promotion of the Study of Jewish History."

Charles J. Cohen, of Philadelphia: "Joseph Simon Cohen, Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, 1840-1853."

Rev. J. Friedlander, of New York: "The First Jewish Periodical Published in America."

Miss Rebecca E. Mitchell, of New York: "A Prayer for the Day of Atonement during the Yellow Fever Epidemic in New York, 1803."

Lee M. Friedman, of Boston: "Judah Monis, the First Person Who Held the Title of Instructor in Hebrew at Harvard College."

Also the following papers, which were read by title:

Abraham Cahen, of Paris: (1) "The Jews of Martinique in the Seventeenth Century;" (2) "The Jews in the French Colonies in the Eighteenth Century."

Rabbi Henry Cohen, of Galveston: (1) "A List of MSS., Documents and Books relating to the Inquisition, chiefly that of Mexico;" (2) "American Notes, 1841-1846, being Excerpts from the 'Voice of Jacob'."

N. Darnell Davis, C. M. G., of London: "Further Notes on the Jews of Barbados and Nevis."

Isaac Markens, of New York: (1) "Lincoln and the Jews, Additional Data;" (2) "Notes on John Howard Payne's Jewish Ancestry, on Mayer Lehman's Correspondence with U. S. Grant and Jefferson Davis, and on John W. Forney's Opinion of Lewis C. Levin's Eloquence."

Samuel Oppenheim, of New York: (1) "The Jews in Brazil, 1621-1654;" (2) "Additional Notes on the Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810."

REPORT OF LEON HÜHNER, CURATOR.

The collections of the Society at present number about 1320 bound volumes, 748 pamphlets, besides prints, manuscripts and relics. But few purchases were made during the past year; among the accessions were 41 books, 29 pamphlets and 34 periodicals.

In the report a year ago mention was made of the fact that the Society lacked two important items—Graetz's "History of the Jews" and "The Jewish Encyclopedia." The response to this appeal came in a most generous manner from Philadelphia. A set of Graetz was the gift of J. Bunford Samuel, and one of "The Jewish Encyclopedia" of August Wolf.

From I. M. Stettenheim, of New York, we received a Hebrew Bible of 1739; from Isidor Blum, of Baltimore, a history of the Jews of Baltimore; from Philip Cowen, of New York, a book on Dr. Cavallo and also the souvenir volume of the 22d Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; from Samuel Oppenheim, of New York, his pamphlet on "Early History of the Jews of New York," photographs of five Dutch documents from the Sage Library, New Brunswick, N. J., and from originals in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and four Noah items.

From Lewis M. Isaacs, of New York, the Society received the correspondence and telegrams in connection with the Kishineff protest meeting in New York. This contains valuable letters from the late Carl Schurz, Dr. Lyman Abbott and other prominent men in regard to Russian atrocities. In addition to the foregoing we have received from the same source, by-laws of K. K. Shaar Ashamaim, Kingston, Jamaica,

1833, original manuscript letter by Crémieux to the Board of Delegates, original letter of William M. Evarts, 1880, in regard to Russian persecution, original letter of Sir Moses Montefiore, 1875, in reply to congratulations received from the Board of Delegates, letters from Dr. Fischel and his correspondence in regard to his chaplaincy, 1862, and an autograph letter of Caleb Cushing; from the Jewish Hospital Association of Philadelphia, a history of that institution; from H. W. Lipman, of Albany, N. Y., the history of the Congregation Beth-Emeth, of Albany; from E. S. Mittler & Sohn, Berlin, Begemann's "Vorgeschichte und Anfänge der Freimaurerei in England"; from Hon. Henry M. Goldfogle, a volume of hearings before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 61st Congress; from the Florida Historical Society, two pamphlets relating to Florida history.

Additional gifts have been received from Rabbi Moses Gries, of Cleveland, and the publishers of *The Modern View*. A large collection of newspaper clippings relating to Jewish activities in connection with the Spanish-American War and collected at the time, is the gift of your Curator, who has also donated a scrap book in which to mount and preserve the same. The Society received from the Executive Committee of the 250th Anniversary Celebration the sum of sixty-four dollars for the purchase of scrap books and to defray the expense of mounting the correspondence of that Committee, for preservation by this Society.

Dated February, 1911.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Societies for the Promotion of the Study of Jewish History.	
<i>Alexander Marx</i> , Ph. D.....	1
Unpublished Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Some American Jews. Contributed by <i>Max J. Kohler</i> ...	11
Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England prior to 1700. Rev. <i>D. de Sola Pool</i> , Ph. D.....	31
The Jews of Virginia from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century. <i>Leon Hühner</i> , A. M., LL. B..	85
Joseph Simon Cohen. <i>Charles J. Cohen</i>	107
A List of Jews Made Denizens in the Reigns of Charles II and James II, 1661-1687. Contributed by <i>Samuel Oppen-</i> <i>heim</i>	109
Francisco de Faria, an American Jew, and the Popish Plot. <i>Lee M. Friedman</i> , A. B., LL. B.....	115
Documents Regarding the Thanksgiving Proclamation of Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania (1880). Contributed by <i>William B. Hackenburg</i>	133
Rhode Island and Consanguineous Jewish Marriages. <i>Ben-</i> <i>jamin H. Hartogensis</i> , A. B.....	137
Notes	147
Necrology	165
Index	173
Constitution	195
List of Members.....	197

SOCIETIES FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE STUDY OF JEWISH HISTORY.

BY ALEXANDER MARX, PH. D.

Like the whole of the science of Judaism the study of Jewish history is of comparatively recent date. It is only ninety years since Jost published the first Jewish history worthy of this name. During half a century quite a number of authors have taken up this task with more or less success. The best of all, that of Graetz, has remained the standard work. But in this, as in most of the other histories, the history of literature is unduly emphasized, largely for the reason that for this the material was much more easily accessible, and better preliminary work had been done. Exceptional in this respect is Selig Cassel's article "Juden" in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, which is strictly limited to political and internal history. The latter two works indeed added much new material from sources hitherto neglected. However they are in need of correction and amplification in innumerable details, requiring first of all special studies of the historical sources of the different countries and more important cities where Jews had lived in the course of their history. Of course quite a number of histories of Jewish communities have been written, in most cases by rabbis with scholarly inclinations who brought to light new and interesting material within their reach. But frequently lack of knowledge of general history as well as of historical training greatly diminished the value of these publications. Only in exceptional cases did a community request a competent scholar to take up such tasks. Thus Ludwig Geiger's *Die Juden in Berlin* (1871) and Gaster's "History of the Ancient Synagogue of the

Spanish and Portuguese Jews at London" (1901) were written on the occasion of the respective bi-centenaries at the instance of these communities. The cases are rare where the communities defrayed the expense of the publication of their historical sources, and when the tombstone-inscriptions of Frankfurt, a/M., were published in this way, the material had been collected and prepared through the initiative of the late Rabbi Dr. Horovitz. Appreciation and encouragement of historical investigations were generally lacking and there was and is a great need for societies whose purpose it is to promote systematic research in the local sources.

The first society that took up this task as a prominent part of its program was the *Société des Études Juives*, founded in 1880. In the appeal sent out for its foundation, mention is made, among its other objects, of the collection of materials for the history of the Jews of France deposited in the public archives and libraries. In the constitution of the society as well as in the announcement contained in the first issue of its organ, the *Revue des Études Juives*, it is expressly stated that particular attention will be given to the history of French Jewry. As a matter of fact, very rich and important material for the local history of the Jews of France is found in almost every volume of the *Revue*, which has greatly added to our knowledge of French Jewish history and literature. In a way, all these researches have been summed up in Gross' splendid *Gallia Judaica* (Paris, 1897), a geographical list of all French localities mentioned in rabbinical literature with additions of everything known about their history and the scholars and authors living there. This volume forms part of the independent publications of the *Société des Études Juives*. Among these the excellent translation of Josephus and Th. Reinach's *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (Paris, 1895), the first part of a series of *Fontes rerum Judaicarum*, deserve special mention.

There were societies in existence before this, which among other objects included the study of Jewish history, but none had laid so much stress on this point and carried it out with such success. I have therefore included this society in my paper and have even mentioned it first, though the immediate purpose of my remarks is to give an account of societies exclusively devoted to the promotion of the study of Jewish history.

The foremost of these purely historical societies is the *Historische Commission des Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebundes*, founded in 1885. This commission consisted of six specialists, three were Christians and three scholars prominent in other branches of learning. In the *Promemoria* issued by them, they stated that their purpose was to pay special attention to the history of the Jews in Germany as forming part of general German history. For, they claimed, only from this point of view could the history of the Jews in Germany be properly understood. As their first tasks they announced two works: (1) *Regesten*, calendars of the historical and documentary materials for the history of the German Jews spread over thousands of volumes of different publications. (2) Critical editions and translations of Hebrew sources, *i. e.*, accounts of persecutions, martyrologies, tombstone-inscriptions and selections from collections of *responsa*. After the completion of these tasks the commission was to turn its attention to modern Jewish history.

The first work was entrusted to Aronius, to whom we owe *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273* (Berlin, 1887-1902), that is, to the end of the interregnum and the accession of Rudolf of Habsburg to the throne, containing about 800 entries. Here the full literature and a critical discussion of doubtful points are to be found and the important documents are given in full. Unfortunately, however, the Hebrew sources did not receive adequate treatment.

For the series of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* gradually a more definite plan was worked out, which with the omission of the tombstone-inscriptions was to comprise five volumes. Three of these have appeared. The first, *Das Judenschreibsbuch der Laurenzpfarre zu Koeln*, edited by Hoeniger and Stern (1888), contains about 400 Latin and 100 Hebrew entries dealing with transfers of real estate in Cologne (*circa* 1235-1347), which give valuable statistics and data concerning the landed property and legal conditions of the members of one of the most important Jewish communities in Germany. The second volume, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, edited by Neubauer and Stern, translated by S. Baer (1892), contains three accounts of the persecutions during the first crusade, the most important of which was unknown before, one about the second crusade, and, finally, an unknown account of the persecutions at the end of the twelfth century. Both volumes have been severely criticized and do not in some respects come up to the standard of modern scholarship. On the other hand, the third publication, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuch*, edited and translated by Salfeld (1898), is a very valuable contribution to our historical knowledge, not only containing raw material, but also adducing all that is needful for historical use. The other two works that were prepared for this commission but not published owing to the premature deaths of their editors, were a collection of religious poems containing historical data, entrusted to Dr. Egers, and a selection from the rabbinical *responsa* of forty to fifty rabbis, containing material for the history and culture of the German Jews, by Dr. Joel Müller. Both works were practically ready in 1892. The committee did not find enough support and encouragement from the communities, owing partly to its antagonism to the Breslau school. It therefore did not take up any additional tasks and after five years ceased to issue its quarterly, the *Zeitschrift*

für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, edited by Ludwig Geiger, which contained sources, studies and bibliographies in the field of German-Jewish history, also much about the Jews in German literature and about Mendelssohn. The publications of the *Historische Commission* are interesting and valuable contributions to the study of Jewish history, and it is greatly to be regretted that its activity ceased so soon.

A few years ago (1903), at the suggestion of the B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge for Germany, the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund* started a new undertaking which promises to be of the utmost importance for the study of the more recent history of the German communities. This is the erection of a general archive for German Jews, which is to unite in one building all the deeds and records of the different communities as far as they have been preserved. Gathered as they will be in one place they will serve as valuable historical sources, especially since the documents referring to Jews in the public archives will gradually be catalogued and partly copied for this *Gesamt-Archiv*. Thus far two hundred communities have turned over their records. A semiannual publication, *Mitteilungen aus dem Gesamtarchiv*, of which two volumes have appeared, gives lists of the deeds of the German communities and also of the Jewish records of some government archives, with a fuller publication of important documents. A bibliographical survey of all the publications of the past year, containing materials of interest for the history of German Jewry, by Dr. Taeubler, the custodian of the archive, is contained in every volume.

A little later than in Germany the interest for local history was aroused in England. There, in 1886, the plan was conceived to show the general public what a large number of important documents for the early history of the Jews in England in the pre-expulsion period were slumbering in libraries and archives, out of which it was possible to reconstruct an almost entirely unknown part of Jewish history.

The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 was a signal success and attracted general attention. A series of lectures given in connection with this exhibition showed to some extent the results to be obtained by a careful study of the neglected sources. The most notable of these papers was that of the late Dr. Charles Gross, on the "Exchequer of the Jews," which gave for the first time a full account of the constitutional position of this branch of the English judiciary dealing solely with the fiscal and financial transactions of the Jews. From the data of the Exchequer and other sources Dr. Joseph Jacobs, who had done much to arouse general interest in the exhibition, succeeded in giving a plan of the quarters of the London Jewry in 1290. The publications of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, besides the catalogue and the lectures, include a volume of ancient deeds in Hebrew, *Shetaroth*, edited by Davis, and Jacobs and Wolf's useful "Anglo-Jewish Bibliography," preceded by an account of the MS. sources of Anglo-Jewish history.

The interest for local history, aroused by this exhibition, led to the formation of the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1893, which has besides for an object the publication of works on general Jewish history and literature. The Society has published six volumes of "Transactions," consisting mostly of papers read by members at its meetings, only part of which are valuable. Much more important are some of its other publications, in the first place J. M. Rigg's "Calendar of the Plea-Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews," I (1905), Henry III., 1218-72; II (1910), Edward I., 1273-5; as well as "Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-1284" (1902), by the same author, giving full texts with translations.

These documents afford curious glimpses into the inner life of Anglo-Jewry, its occupations, culture, etc., but more than that, they grant us a deep insight into the activity of the Jews as financiers. As sources for the history of the re-

settlement, the treatises of Menasseh ben Israel were republished by Lucien Wolf. When the investigation into the sources of Anglo-Jewish history had made great progress, the Society rightly decided to sum up the results attained so far in a *History of the Jews in England*. The book bearing this title by Albert M. Hyamson, is, however, not sufficiently scientific and not fully satisfactory.

Younger than these societies is the *Historische Kommission der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien*, which in 1908 began the publication of a series of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Oesterreich*, and of which three volumes have appeared. *Das Judenbuch der Scheffstrasse zu Wien, 1389-1420*, edited by Dr. Goldmann, the first of the series, contains 375 fiscal entries of a character similar to the English and German publications. The second volume, *Das Wiener Ghetto*, by Dr. Schwarz (1909), attempts to reconstruct, from the entries in the land-registers, etc., the successive ghetti in which the Jews lived in the inner city up to the expulsion of 1420, and outside "im unteren Werd" from 1625 to 1670. The third volume is of a very different character. It bears the title *Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619*, edited by Landau and Wachstein (1911), and contains about fifty letters, partly in Hebrew but mostly in Judæo-German, written in Prague on two or three successive days in November, 1619. These letters were probably intercepted by the government and deposited in its archives. One of them is by the famous R. Jom Tob Lipmann Heller, and all are extremely curious and interesting not only for the historical data they contain but especially for the glimpses into the inner life they grant us, which are not found in any other sources in such fullness and clearness. A collection of the very important tombstone-inscriptions of the Vienna cemetery, a specimen of which was published by Wachstein in 1907, is passing through the press and will form a further volume of the *Quellen*.

As for similar societies in Eastern European countries I can give only very little information as the language of their publications is strange to me.

A Roumanian historical society named after Dr. Julius Barrasch, who had contributed more than anyone else towards spreading modern culture in that country, was founded in 1886 and produced three year-books with essays about the history of various communities, etc. It ceased to exist in 1890.

Lately a Jewish historico-ethnographical society has been founded in St. Petersburg and is publishing since 1909, under the editorship of Dubnow, a quarterly in Russian, *Yevreiskaja Starina*, containing studies and documents and also Hebrew sources. Prior to this the Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia took an interest in the history of the Jews in that country also, and to its initiative we owe the publication of a calendar of the deeds found in Russian sources from 80 to 1800 referring to Jews.

In Hungary a Jewish literary society was founded in 1894 which is not limited in its scope to any particular part of the science of Judaism. Its year-books contain quite a number of historical essays. Of its other publications, the history of Budapest, by A. Büchler, and similar works, but more especially the *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica*, 1092-1539, I (1903), edited by Armin Friss (in co-operation with Dr. Moritz Weiss), fall within the scope of the present paper.

The last two societies, as a matter of fact, are not directly concerned with the promotion of the study of Jewish history, but since they have made possible the publication of important collections of historical sources I have thought it right to mention them here. In the same way I might in passing give the names of some societies devoted to the study of the history of certain localities which occasionally include the history of the Jews, and in their publications give space to important studies in that subject. *Die Historische Gesellschaft der Provinz Posen*, in its *Zeitschrift*, and similar societies for Silesia, the

Rhineland, etc., are examples. The Madrid Academy of History in its *Boletín* publishes interesting material and studies in Spanish-Jewish history by Christian scholars, of whom Don Fidel Fita, one of our corresponding members, is the foremost representative.

Finally, I must not omit a society with much broader aims, which in its program includes important works on Jewish history,—the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*. The latter has, in its *Grundriss*, published a *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden*, by our corresponding member, Professor Caro, and a history of the Jews in recent times in two, and eventually three, volumes by Martin Philippon, another corresponding member of this Society. It seems that the Society intends to give much closer attention to German-Jewish history, for it is preparing a *Germania Judaica*, in three volumes, and is planning a continuation of the *Regesten*.

If we consider the work done by these societies we find that their most important and useful publications are those containing collections of sources, calendars of deeds and to some extent bibliographies. The value of their activity therefore greatly depends on the nature and the age of the unpublished documents of their respective countries. The transactions and periodical publications are of varying value, dealing, as they do, with more or less minute details which, however, are indispensable for a final history of the Jews in any land. Most of the societies existed only for a short time; none as long as our own. And we may add with satisfaction, that although the history of the Jews in America is more recent in date than that of any other Jewry, yet no other society has been able to produce as many volumes, devoted to the history of one country, the most recent in time of settlement by the Jews of all the lands mentioned, as the American Jewish Historical Society.

UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
THOMAS JEFFERSON AND SOME
AMERICAN JEWS.

CONTRIBUTED BY MAX J. KOHLER.

Several interesting letters exchanged by Thomas Jefferson with Jews of his day have heretofore appeared in these *Publications* (No. 2, p. 111; No. 3, pp. 94, 95; No. 4, pp. 221-222; No. 10, pp. 103 *et seq.*, 167-168), the correspondence between our leading champion of the separation of Church and State and Isaac Harby, Mordecai M. Noah and David S. Franks, being particularly noteworthy. Jefferson's relations with the Jews of America were also touched upon by the present writer in his paper, "Some Phases in the History of Religious Liberty with Particular Reference to the Jews." (*Publications*, No. 11, p. 71; *cp.* No. 2, p. 92; No. 3, pp. 97, 98). The publication, since these articles were prepared, of the "Calendar of Jefferson Correspondence," issued by the Bureau of Rolls, Library of the State Department, gave evidence of the fact that there were other letters exchanged between Jefferson and Jews of his day, preserved in the collection of "drafts of letters" from Jefferson and letters received by him in the collection referred to. These are now deposited in the Library of Congress, and transcripts have been secured and are published here.

JEFFERSON AND JOSEPH MARX, OF RICHMOND.

I.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 40.]

A. L. S.

Marx to Jefferson.

RICHMOND 3d July 1820

Sir

I avail myself of the conveyance afforded me by Governor Randolph to transmit and to request your acceptance, of the Volume

containing the proceedings of the Sanhedrin, convened by order of the Emperor Buonaparte.

Should any part of their Deliberations, or Sentiments expressed by any Member of that Body, tend to confirm the liberal and enlightened views, expressed by yourself, of that persecuted Race, when last I had the honor and pleasure of an interview, it will prove to me a source of high gratification.

I am with Sentiments of profound Respect

Sir

Your most Obedient Servt.

Thomas Jefferson Esqr.

JOSEPH MARX.

II.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 45.]

Jefferson to Marx.

Th: Jefferson presents to Mr. Marx his compliments & thanks for the Transactions of the Paris Sanhedrin, which he shall read with great interest, and with the regret he has ever felt at seeing a sect, the parent and basis of all those of Christendom, singled out by all of them for a persecution and oppression which prove they have profited nothing from the benevolent doctrines of him whom they profess to make the model of their principles and practice.

He salutes Mr. Marx with sentiments of perfect esteem and respect.

Monticello, July 8, 20.

III.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 36.]

A. L. S.

Marx to Jefferson.

RICHMOND 8th December 1817

Sir

I recently recieved a Consignment of Cloths shipped by Mr. Richard Flower, of Marden, England, for account of his Brother Mr. George Flower, who has the honor of being known to you. that Gentleman lately embarked for Europe, his absence caused the letter from his Brother to be placed in my hands, who therein says "You will recieve 2½ yards of my best cloth, which you will present if you please to Mr Jefferson, as a small token of my Esteem & Gratitude, for his kindness to you"

In compliance therefore with that Gentlemans wishes, and in the hope, that the mode he has adopted, of evincing his Gratitude, and the high Respect he entertains for your Character, will not be recieved as taking too great a liberty, I have forwarded the parcel, and avail myself of the occasion, to subscribe myself with the highest Respect

Sir

Your most obt Servt

Thomas Jefferson Esqr.

JOSEPH MARX.

IV.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 42.]

A. D.

Jefferson to Marx.

MONTICELLO. Decr. 25, 17

Th: Jefferson presents his thanks to Mr. Marx for the trouble he has been so kind as to take in forwarding to him the cloth from Mr. Flower, it is safely at hand and it's highest value is placed in the motives of the giver, whose great personal worth was consideration sufficient for any services it was in the power of Th: J. to render him. He salutes Mr. Marx with esteem & respect.

Endorsement: Marx, Joseph. Dec. 25, 17.

V.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 43.]

A. L. S.

. *Jefferson to Marx.*

POPLAR FOREST NEAR LYNCHBURG

Aug. 24, 19

Sir

I inclose you a renewal of the two notes of 10,000 / each, for which I am by endorsement responsible to the U. S. bank, for Colo. W. C. Nicholas. I do this on his information that it will be received as sufficient for 60 days; within which term I will execute a bond jointly with him for the amount of these notes, with a third person made acceptable to the bank. in seeking for a 3d. name my reluctance at placing any friend in the state of uneasiness in which this responsibility would place him, is insuperable. I greatly prefer therefore what I am told will be acceptable to the bank, to make a 3d name competent by a conveyance of real property abundantly sufficient to cover the

debt. My grandson Thos. J. Randolph is the person whom I should use with the least scruple in this business and I will acc [torn out] ly convey lands amply sufficient for this debt, to him in trust for it's payment, & as a special security to the bank, applicable to no other purpose. While this makes him sufficient as a security, all the rest of my property is responsible for the same debt, on the ground of my being separately bound. That it is sufficient for many times this amount is probably known, and I assure you on my honor that not a dollar's worth of it is under incumbrance to any mortal or for any purpose. You shall receive the bond and a copy of the deed immediately after my return to Monticello, which will be within 3 or 4 weeks. Accept the assurance of my great respect and esteem.

TH. JEFFERSON

Mr. Joseph Marx.

VI.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 37.]

A. L. S.

Marx to Jefferson.

RICHMOND 2d. Sept. 1819

Sir

I communicated the contents of your letter under 24th Aug. to the Board of Directors of the office of D & D, at this place, they very readily accepted the security proposed by yourself. I annex a Copy of their resolution. In regard to the discount, I take it for granted, that Colonel Nicholas will embrace that hereafter in his intended general settlement, in the [?] while the Rules of the office require, that the discount be paid, untill the proposed general arrangements be complete.

I have applied one of the Notes enclosed in your favor under 24th, to retire the Note upon which form required a Protest, the other will be used to meet the one due the 15th Instant.

Whilst I lament the present occasion which has procured me the honor of a letter from you, permit me to add that I shall feel much gratification in being made usefull to you here, upon matters more agreeable to yourself.

With Sentiments of the highest Respect

Sir

Your most obt Servt

Thomas Jefferson Esqr.

JOSEPH MARX

[Resolution annexed to letter of Sept. 2, 1819.]

Resolved that the Bond & Security proposed by Mr. Jefferson will be considered satisfactory. The Bond being made payable on demand and bearing interest from date, payable semianually—The parties to the Bond to be jointly & severally bound. The Note discounted this day & any other passed before the Bond is executed will require that the amount of discount be paid by Mr Jefferson unless paid by Colonel Nicholas, as also the cost of Protest on the one Protested.—

15 Sept. 1819—

VII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 44.]

A. L. S.

Jefferson to Marx.

MONTICELLO Sept. 20, 19.

Dear Sir

The kind offers of service in your letter of the 2d. in my unfortunate responsibility for Mr. Nicholas, induce me to take the liberty of passing the inclosed papers thro' you to the bank of the U. S. They are 1st. a joint and several bond for the debt. 2, a plat of the lands I have conveyed to my grandson in trust for securing the debt, certified to be amply sufficient by gentlemen knowing the lands, & known themselves in Richmond. 3, a copy of the deed to my grandson, the original being retained to be recorded, of which record I will send the bank a certificate as soon as the forms will admit. The lands conveyed comprehend my best plantation in Bedford—every foot of them is or has been tobacco lands, & still in good condition, some of the certifiers were of opinion that when the regular intercourse of buying & selling shall be restored at fair prices, they would sell for 40 D. the acre, & none thought less than 30 D. I will add that these are not a fourth in value or quantity of my property in that county, and that what I hold there is not equal to my possessions here. I do not say this vauntingly, but to satisfy the bank that if I am ultimately to meet this loss they will be safe in any indulgences they may extend to me to lessen the sacrifice by giving time to obtain a fair price for the property which would be to be sold for that purpose. I was not aware that one of the notes

fell due on the 15th but I have given that date to the bond, to prevent any chasm in time.

I salute you with great esteem & respect.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Mr. Marx.

P. S. my express of this morning to Mr. Nicholas for his signature to the bond, not being returned and the mail-hour at hand, I close my letter without it. if it does not come in time, it shall follow by the mail of Saturday.

Note it arrived & was sent in the evening under another cover.

VIII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 39.]

A. L. S.

Marx to Jefferson.

RICHMOND 27th Sept. 1819

Sir

The papers enclosed in your letter under the 20th as also the Bond, have been delivered at the office of the United States Bank. The members of the Board of Directors are fully satisfied of the ample security offered, and of the promptness with which the call has been met.

The Counsel for that Institution has pointed out some desirable alterations, which however appear to be matter of Form, not affecting the substance, particulars of which the President or Cashier will hand you by the next Mail, in the mean it were probably best to postpone recording the Deed as intended.

I have the honor to be Respectfully

Sir

Your most ob St.

Thomas Jefferson Esqr.

JOSEPH MARX.

IX.

[Letters of Jefferson. Series 2, Vol. 62, p. 41.]

Marx to Jefferson.

Mr. Marx unites with Mr. Brown in presenting their Respects to Mr. Jefferson, their attendance at Court being required this morning, and their anxiety to return so soon as dismissed, will

prevent their accepting Mr. Jefferson's Invitation of which they will be happy to avail themselves at some future Period.

Friday morning.

Endorsement: Marx & Brown, June 8, 21.

JEFFERSON AND MOSES MYERS, OF NORFOLK.

X.

[Letters of Jefferson. Series 6, Vol. 8, p. 40 (105).]

A. L. S.

Myers to Jefferson.

NORFOLK June 1st, 1802

Sir

Permit me the Honor to Introduce Admiral Hartsinck (Commanding the Squadron of the Batavian Republic in Hampton Road, & for which I am agent) to your Civilities. The object of the Admiral's Journey is to pay you his Personal respects & I am happy Sir to Inform you that the Impressions on his mind are very favorable indeed as relates to our Country—which has been very flattering to me—

The Admiral will be extremely Gratified in the honor of Your personal acquaintance & I have taken the Liberty to assure him you would be glad to see him.

I have the Honor to be with much respect Sir

Your very obt. St.

Thomas Jefferson Esq.

MOSES MYERS

XI.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 1, Vol. 5, p. 298.]

A. C. S.

Jefferson to Myers.

GERMANTOWN [Date illegible.]

Sir

According to my engagement I now inclose you 186 Doll. thirty six cents = £55—18—3 Virginia money to be passed to the credit of Mrs. Carr. You will readily perceive that your endorsement on the inclosed bank note will make it cash to any person wishing to remit to Philadelphia. The Custom house officers particularly take up these notes by a general arrangement. I am Sir

Your most obedt. Servt.

THOS: JEFFERSON.

JEFFERSON AND THE COHEN FAMILY.

XII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 17, p. 78.]

A. L. S.

Cohen to Jefferson.

His Excellency Thos. Jefferson.

Honored Sir

Regarding you as the Patron of Arts & Sciences in our Infant Country, I am Led to take the Liberty of offering to your Notice an Institution which If favoured with your approbation will I flatter myself produce a Publick Good, as Such am Confident it will Need no other Commendation to Merit your Patronage.—The Beneficial Effects derived from the Use of Mineral Waters, which have become celebrated by affording relief in cases where most other remedies have failed, has Induced the most Celebrated Chemists to ascertain by a correct Annalysis those Beneficial properties & by Chemically combining those parts, to produce by Art, what Nature hath so bountifully bestowed and so far have they Succeeded, as to Merit a decided preference of the Artificial to the Natural Waters by Increasing their Active properties and Excluding foreign particles not Necessary but rather detrimental to Health—you respected Sir who are so well Acquainted with the principles of Philosophy are well aware of the difficulties attending this process in order to Sufficiently Impregnate the Waters with the Gaseous & which is Indeed the most Active principle in most of the Celebrated Waters. how far I have succeeded in this difficulty have Taken the Liberty of submitting to your Inspection by forwarding you a Specimen of the Balls Town, Pymont Soda-Water, and also refer you to the Hon. Lemuel Sawyer (to whom we had the Honour of forwarding an assortment) for some of the Seltzer, of which am at present out of a Supply. This being the most highly Impregnated Water containing from 250 to 300 p. ct. of the Carbonic Acid Gas, a Quantity seldom attained or Exceeded by any attempt in Europe.—The Happy Effects derived from their Use have been already Evincd by an approving Publick & Testimonies of the most Celebrated & Eminent Chemists & Medical Characters in this City—yet in order to Give it all the Advantage that might result It requires the aid of a Larger Capital than in my power to afford. To ren-

der it of that Extensive Utility, to prove a Publick Benefit the aid of a Capital from 10 to 15000 doll. would Accomplish the object of erecting a Suitable Building, in which fountains would be Placed (as the Waters are now delivered) and would be sufficient to furnish a Supply to the United States or also to furnish them Gratuitously to the Poor to whom the Physicians might deem it Necessary.—

Under your Auspices & favour respected Sir this might be amply Effected & the Name of a Jefferson recieve an additional tie to the Debt of Gratitude from his fellow Citizens already so Largely Incured. Those fountains of Health flowing through his Patronage would Claim the Benedictions of relieved Sufferers, and thus afford an additional solace to a retirement where the Prayers, & Gratitude of the Worthy & Good will always follow you.—I now submit an outline of the Plan for your Approval. The above Sum to be divided into shares of 50 doll. each, payable in Installments, the Subscribers to be entitled to Exclusive privileges & receive the amount to themselves or order in Mineral Waters, at a deduction of 20 p. ct. from the selling price. your approval & patronage, joined to the respectable characters in this City will fully enable me to accomplish this object & dedicate an Institution to you Whose Virtues an applauding world will Never cease to Emulate and which the Voice of Envy cannot Tarnish—Nor shall any Exertion on my Part be Wanting to Render the Establishment Worthy of the Honour & prove the Gratitude of
Yr Respectfull Obt. Serv.

Phil: Decr. 21, 1807.

ABRAHAM COHEN.

No. 31 So. 2d. Street.

XIII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 17, p. 79.]

Jefferson to Cohen.

WASHINGTON Feb. 10, 08.

Sir

I have not been able sooner to acknolege the receipt of your letter of Dec. 21. which did not come to hand till Jan. 27 nor to return you my thanks for the mineral waters which came with it. I am happy to learn that these productions of nature can be successfully imitated by art, and that something may thereby be

added useful to mankind. Of the degree of that utility, I acknowledge myself not a judge, being little acquainted with the composition of these waters, and still less with their effects on the human body, a consciousness of this would make it too presuming in me to suppose that any connection of my name with an establishment for their preparation would be a recommendation of them to the public. They would be sensible that it is out of my line and would view it as neither favorable to myself or the medicine. The names of the celebrated Physicians of Philadelphia are those which would give a just reputation to these waters, and present them with authority to the notice of the public. Giving every just praise therefore to the efforts you have so meritoriously exerted in perfecting a preparation which may relieve the afflicted from some of their sufferings, I feel it a duty to leave it's fortunes & it's direction in the hands of those so much better qualified to promote it's success: and I pray you to accept my best wishes for that, & my respectful salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON

Mr. Cohen.

XIV.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 73, p. 17.]

A. L. S.

Cohen & Bros. to Ritchie.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 16, 1826.

Chas. Ritchie Esq., Richmond Va.

Sir

Noticing that a proposition is before the legislature of Virginia having for its object a grant to Thos. Jefferson Esq. to dispose of property by letters we take the liberty of tendering the services of this office as well as our Offices in Newyork—Pennsylvania, Virginia & South Carolina and our agencies in the several other States of the Union in furtherance of the views of Mr. Jefferson should the General Assembly of Virginia accede to the memorial.

You will please communicate the purport of this to such friends of the memorial as you may deem proper.

Very Respectfully,

COHEN & BROS.

XV.

[Jefferson Correspondence. Vol. 6, p. 119.]

Jefferson to Dr. De La Motta.

[SEPTEMBER 1, 1820.]

Th. Jefferson returns his thanks to Dr. De La Motta for the eloquent discourse on the Consecration of the Synagogue of Savannah, which he has been so kind as to send him. It excites in him the gratifying reflection that his country has been the first to prove to the world two truths, the most salutary to human society, that man can govern himself, and that religious freedom is the most effectual anodyne against religious dissension: the maxim of civil government being reversed in that of religion, where its true form is "divided we stand, united, we fall." He is happy in the restoration of the Jews, particularly, to their social rights, and hopes they will be seen taking their seats on the benches of science as preparatory to their doing the same at the board of government. He salutes Dr. De La Motta with sentiments of great respect.

XVI.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 30, p. 8.]

A. L. S.

Delamotte to ———.

HAVRE 7 Juillet 1819

Monsieur

J'apprends par M. Short que vous avez fait une maladie dange-reuse dont vous etes entierement retabli. cela me fait penser á mon áge & au votre, et ne voulant par quitter ce monde sans vous avoir donné quelque témoignange du respect que j'ai pour vous, je m'empresse á vous féliciter de votre retablissement, á vous remercier des bontés que vous avés eü pour moi et de celles que vous serieés encore disposé á avoir si j'en dois croire le rapport de quelques personnes avec lesquelles j'ai eu en differents tems l'occasion de parler de vous. recevés donc, Monsieur, l'expression de mon respect & de mon affection, si vous voulés bien me per-mettre ce dernier sentiment. Vivés longtems, vivés heureux, & soyés assuré que mon coeur vous est tout dévoué.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer.

B [?] DELAMOTTE.

JEFFERSON AND DAVID S. FRANKS.¹

XVII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 1.]

Franks to Jefferson.

BORDEAUX 1. Jany. 1785.

Dear Sir

I did not intend doing myself the honor of writing to you until my arrival at Marseilles, from whence you were so kind as to permit me to correspond with you. A variety of circumstances have combined to keep me from thence much longer than I expected; and I will not any further deprive myself the Pleasure of enquiring after your Health, and of wishing you many returns of the present season, attended by every blessing you can desire for you and yours.

As you were allways kind enough to interest yourself in my little Concerns, I have to inform you that my expectations are far from being answered in my Business at Marseilles; the Letters I have recd. from America respecting the situation of her trade, those I have from London and Paris; all seem to point out the improbability of succeeding there at present, and as no Salary is allowed to Vice Consuls I shall really be in a very disagreeable situation at that place. Every account from Paris confirms me in the opinion that a war will soon break out between the Emperor and the Dutch and their allies; if there was a possibility of being employed in the french Army, I should with pleasure join it—I do not wish to follow the profession of a Soldier of Fortune, but I do assure you my dear Sir that my circumstances are such as to induce me to accept of any thing that would be honorable and profitable. I should certainly prefer being employed in the Service of my Country to all others, but I do not see any immediate prospect of so pleasing a circumstance—

I beg Sir you will pardon the Liberty I take in opening myself to you in this manner, as I know no one in whose indulgence I can so fully confide and you will confer an additional obligation by informing me what prospect I may have of succeeding in an application—The Marquis de Chatelux, we hear is appointed one

¹ *Cp. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, pp. 76-86; No. 4, pp. 81-87; No. 10, pp. 101-108, 166-168; No. 16, pp. 25-27; No. 18, p. 210; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. V, article "David S. Franks"; *Jewish Comment*, September 29 and October 6, 1899; *Magazine of History*, August, 1906.

of the Generals, he knows me and would perhaps interest himself in my favor; if his military family is not compleat I should be happy to serve under him—Mr. Barclay is here and intends soon going to Paris; I waited at Nantes nigh two months for him, to come to this place and to take my final instructions from him—I pray my Compts. to Miss Jefferson and Col. Humphries and that you would believe me to be Dear Sir, with the greatest Respect,

Your most obt. and obliged humble Servt.

DAVD. S. FRANKS.

XVIII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 4.]

Franks to Jefferson.

Mr De Chateaumon the Gentleman who Mr. Carmichael desired me to present to your Excellency has been with me this morning to know if it would be agreeable to you to receive him this afternoon I should be glad to know your Excellency's pleasure and will act accordingly—My Trunks are not yet arrived as soon as they are shall be ready to go immediately I hope that two or three days more will bring them, I have the honor to be

Your Excellencys

Most obt. obliged Svt

DAV'D. S. FRANKS

XIX.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 6.]

Franks to Jefferson.

I wished Your Excellency to have accepted of the Moorish Coins as a very small mark of the attachment which I have allways had for you and when I presented them it was with that Intention—Besides I owe you two hundred livres which you kindly lent me at a time when I very much wanted it and for which tho' I can repay you I shall not think myself quit of the obligation—I shall have the pleasure of seeing you when we will Settle and at the same time I may have an opportunity of assuring you how much I am my dear Sir

Your Excellency's most obt.

and obliged Sevt.

DAVD. S. FRANKS

I have retained the money having opened the packet first—Mr. Chateaumont lives at the Hotel de Valois Rue Vantadour

XX.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 7.]

Franks to Jefferson.

PARIS 17th. June 1785

Dear Sir

A disappointment in my expectations of remittances from America has brought me into great distress; My time I find will be lost in waiting untill affairs are settled with ye Algiereens etc., I wish therefore to return as soon as possible, this cannot be effected untill my debts are paid, if you will kindly assist me in doing it, I will immediately on my arrival at Philadelphia transmit you the Money you may advance for me or pay it to any one there you may order—It is in confidence of your goodness that I am induced to apply to you, fully conscious that on, or shortly after my arrival at Philadelphia, I shall be able to repay you and shall allways acknowledge the obligation with gratitude

I am Dear Sir with much
respect

Your very humble sevt.

Honbl. Thos. Jefferson Esqr.

DAVD. S. FRANKS

XXI.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 8.]

Jefferson to Franks.

PARIS June 17. 1785.

Dear Sir

Your letter of this day distresses me not a little as it finds me utterly unable to give you the assistance needed. my outfit here, for the articles of furniture, clothes and carriage only has cost me fifteen hundred guineas. no allowance of this kind being made I have been obliged to run in debt for it. the uneasiness which this has given me for some time past has preyed on my spirits night and day. and indeed my situation is not a little delicate. the laws not giving remedy against me, the first creditor whom I can neither pay nor prevail on to wait, carries his complaint to the king immediately, and exposes me of necessity to censure and recall. these circumstances have not only reduced me to a rigid economy, but render it impossible for me either to advance money or further hazard my credit. I am fully sensible that this information may be distressing to you, and this increases the pain with which I communicate it. I am unhappily

in a condition to feel much for your difficulties without a power to lessen them. nothing would have been more pleasing to me than the exercise of such a power, as I am with real esteem Dr. Sir

Your most obedt. humble servt.

TH: JEFFERSON

XXII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 199.]

Jefferson to Franks.

My anxiety, my dear Sir, on the detention of the Marocco treaty, is inexpressible however cogent and necessary the motives which detain you, I should be deemed inexcusable were I to let so safe an opportunity as that by Colo Blackden pass without sending the papers on to London. mr Jay complained that a treaty signed in June was not ratified in October. what will they say when they shall observe that the same treaty does not reach them till March, nine months? in the mean time our whole commerce is paying a heavy tax for insurance till it's publication. can you fix a day as early as Monday or Tuesday for your departure whether your baggage arrives or not? or would you rather decline the going with the papers? in the former case, if your baggage does not arrive before your departure, any orders you may think proper to leave respecting it shall be punctually executed. I can send it to Mr Limosin at Havre so that it may go to America in the February packet. I shall see you at the Marquis's to-day and we will speak about this matter.

Thursday Jan. 11. 1787

Colo. Franks—

XXIII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 1, Vol. 2, p. 228.]

A. L. S.

Jefferson to Franks.

PARIS Feb. 8. 1787.

Dear Sir

I suspect that among the papers you took from hence were two letters, the one intended for a joint one from Mr. Adams and myself to Mr. Barclay, and the other intended to be joint likewise to the Marocco minister. I think you will find these stuffed in between the red marocco of the treaty box and the lid of the box. pray search for them and return them to me by the first post. perhaps there may be in the same place some other papers

not intended for America; tho I recollect no others. health, happiness, and a fair passage to you and am with esteem Dr Sir

P S. be as good as to write me a your friend and Svt.
line of your safe arrival the moment TH: JEFFERSON
you land in America.

Colo. Franks

XXIV.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 5.]

Franks to Jefferson.

HAVRE le 10th. Feb. 1787

Dear Sir

We came here late last night the roads and a broken Carriage having retarded us on the way longer than we had any reason to expect—In looking over my Papers this morning I found that the ratification of the Treaty together with the letter to Taker Fennish to be sent to Morocco were in the Box—I therefore take the offer of Mr. Lemosin to send them to you by the first safe hand. Permit me my dear Sir at parting to assure you that my Heart feels every sentiment of gratitude and attachment to you for the many marks of Friendship which you have shown me since my stay in France and that it will always be my endeavor to merit the good opinion I flatter myself you have of me—I pray you would be so kind as to present my best Respects to Mr Short and believe me Dear Sir

Your Excellcy. most
obt. obliged Svt.

D: S. FRANKS

I believe we shall sail in a few hours—beg you would forward the enclosed letter—

I do myself the pleasure of inclosing you a Note which may by an accident serve to acquit my pecuniary obligations to you—

His Excellcy. Mr. Jefferson

XXV.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 3.]

Franks to Jefferson.

HAVRE DE GRACE 11th. Feby. 1787

Dear Sir,

Before I had received your Excellency's Letter of the 8th. I had made up the inclosed Packet and had given it to Mr. Limousin

who had promised to send it by the first safe hand, but as you desire the papers may be sent by Post I now forward them to you; I mean the Copy ratified of the Treaty with the letter to Taker Fennish, That, intended for Mr. Barclay is not among my Papers, I have made the most exact search for it in Vain, I think it must be where the Box containing the Treaty used to stand, nigh the fire place in your Study.

I do myself the Honor of sending you a rough draft of a Letter I had written to Mr. Jay; fortunately I have not now any occasion to send it, as by contrary winds the Packet is detained and we have got (with much difficulty) Permission to embark. It appears that after the Ships Books are closed at 5 o'clock in the Evening of the 9th. of every Month, that no person can be admitted on board even tho' the Vessel should be detained a day or two by any accident; dispatches from any foreign Minister coming under the same circumstances unless accompanied by an order from the Marl. de Castries would be rejected—The Letter I intended for Mr. Jay I would have been obliged to have smuggled into the Ship.

This Regulation must be productive of many disappointments and must serve to disgust our Countrymen from embarking in French Packet-Boats. Capt. Daboville informs me that at L'Orient no such rule was followed and that before the ship left the Coast any Passenger or Packet might be put on board. I thought it my Duty to inform Your Excellency of this Circumstance as it might have occasioned you some disappointment. If the French Ministry mean to encourage this communication between the two Countries they should remove every *natural* impediment in their power, and avoid throwing any Bans in the way—Bad Ships and but indifferent Seamen I reckon among the former and the regulation before mentioned and some others among the Latter—The Ship we are now going to embark in is by no means a bad one in point of strength, but as to sailing I suppose that no Ship in France can be much more dull—We have seen the Vessel built in America and which is to sail next month for the West Indies—it is hardly possible to form at a distance a proper Idea of the difference on Comparison—she is the most beautiful Vessel I ever saw.

Another Circumstance I beg leave to mention to Your Excellency and which will not a little contribute to throw our Countrymen farther at a distance from sailing in French Packets, I mean the impertinence of the Director Mr. Ruillan, whose conduct to

us under any other Circumstances would have procured him a proper Chastisement—I am informed that he has also on several Occasions treated the American Crews in a very arbitrary and unbecoming manner and that many of them thereby have deserted from their Ships. He Seems to enjoy an universal bad Character.

We have repacked your Acorns as you directed and with great Care—I pray my best Compliments to Mr. Short and am Dear Sir With much Respect and Esteem

Your Excellencys most obt.

obliged Servant

His Excellency

DAVD. S. FRANKS

Tho. Jefferson

In all probability we shall be detained some days more as the wind is contrary and very violent should be glad of a line from your Excell—

XXVI.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 33, p. 2.]

Draft.

Franks to John Jay.

HAVRE DE GRACE 10th. Feby. 1787

Sir

I came here last night at 11 oClock in Consequence of the advice and Permission of their Excellencies Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson charged with the Treaty made by Mr. Barclay with the Emperor of Morocco and on applying this morning to Capt. Daboville for a Passage on board his Paquet Boat to New York, he told me that I must address myself to Mr. Ruilland director of the P. B and pay my passage money to him—Then he would receive my things and me on Board—

I went immediately to Mr. Ruilland who gave me for answer “that all the expeditions for the ship were made out and that unless I could get a positive order from Mr. Mistrael intendant of the Marine he could not permit me to embark—in consequence I went to this latter Gentleman who told me that it was not in his Power to give any such order and that I must again apply to the Director of the Paquet Boats Mr. Ruilland who on my second application peremptorily refused me—I communicated my Business to both these Gent. and at same time represented the ill consequences which might arrise from the Treaty not going in this Paquet and with all the arguments that I could possibly make use of urged them to allow me to embark—Mr. Lenogin a Capital

Merchant and who acts as American Consul here went with me to Mr. Mistrael and made use of all his influence to as little purpose the Vessel does not go off till 3 o'clock this afternoon, I thought it my Duty to inform Your Excellency of the Reason for my not embarking, with the Treaty by this opportunity—

I could draw no other from the director of the Paquets than that the Dispatches for the Ship were made out and that he positively would not give the order (without which the Capt) could not receive me on board—

I hope your Excellency will be assured that every thing was done on my Part and that no detention of the Paquet Boats was requested or desired by me, being in every point at 6 o'clock this morning ready to embark, I shall write immediately to Mr. Jefferson and follow his orders have to act in Consequence and ansr. etc. etc.

XXVII.

[Jefferson Papers. Series 2, Vol. 6, p. 10 a.]

*Butler to Jefferson.*²

SHIP DELLAWARE March ye. 27th /92—

Dear Sir

I call'd this morning to take a personal leave, and also to request your friendly interference in behalf of Major Franks, whose present situation is far from eligible—If you find it consistent to place Him on a better Establishment I shall feel myself under an Obligation to You

I have the honor to be with sentiments of real Esteem and regard

Dear Sir—

Yr Most Obedt. Servt.

P BUTLER—

Will you at your leisure think of the Bristol Consul?

² This letter is of special interest as it refers to David S. Franks after the Scioto settlers had left for Ohio, and seems to be the last documentary evidence regarding him, unless he can be identified with the David Franks who was assistant cashier of the Bank of North America at Philadelphia in 1791. *Cp. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, p. 85; No. 16, p. 27; *Magazine of History*, August, 1906.

Other letters in this collection from Francis Da Costa, dated Philadelphia, November 20, 1804, and Philip Myer, dated Washington, March 19, 1802, contain nothing of Jewish interest. Moreover, the Jewish identity of the writers is uncertain.

HEBREW LEARNING AMONG THE PURITANS OF NEW ENGLAND PRIOR TO 1700.¹

BY REV. D. DE SOLA POOL, PH. D.

The following paper is an attempt at estimating the nature and extent of Hebrew learning among the New England Puritans of the seventeenth century, and at ascertaining in how far this learning was a native growth, and to what extent it could claim originality. In the treatment of these qualitative questions, a quantitative heaping of literary material becomes of secondary importance; and the temptation to multiply names and quote extracts from the tedious doctrino-theological literature of the period has been indulged in only so far as has been necessitated for substantiating the results to be arrived at.

¹ When this paper was finished, Dr. Cyrus Adler called my attention to an article by Professor G. F. Moore in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. VIII (1888), pp. 1-47, on "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika." Only the first six pages deal with the period up to 1700, and the treatment is necessarily very brief. Professor Gottheil, writing in the *Rivista Israelitica*, Vol. V (1908), p. 68, on "Gli studi ebraici in America," has made use of this article for the earliest period, as has also Rabbi William Rosenau in his paper, "Semitic Studies in American Colleges," "Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis" (1896), p. 101. Dr. Rosenau devotes about a dozen lines to the seventeenth century. There is a slight popular sketch of Semitics at Harvard College in *The Menorah*, Vol. XXXIV (1903), by Joseph Lebowich. The first two paragraphs touch on the early period. A. W. McClure, in his "Life of John Cotton," Boston (1846), p. 151, makes some general remarks on Hebrew knowledge among the New England Puritan divines. Another reference that must now be added is to the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, p. 108, where Mr. Hühner, in his paper on "Jews in Connection with the Colleges of the Thirteen Original States prior to 1800," devotes a few lines to the study of Hebrew in the early years of Harvard University.

The story of Hebrew culture in Massachusetts begins with the very foundation of the Plymouth colony, for the first Hebraists to settle in New England came over in the *Mayflower*. Governor Bradford (1590-1657), one of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, was a man whose ability, character, and comparative culture raised him above his fellow settlers. Particularly his knowledge of languages is praised by Cotton Mather in the *Magnalia*,² for he was conversant with Dutch, French, Latin, and Greek,

but the Hebrew [tongue] he most of all studied, because he said he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty.

Bradford's own words to this effect have been preserved. They occur in the original MS. of his valuable "History of Plymouth Plantation." In this MS. are some eight pages of Hebrew roots with English explanations, and quotations from the Hebrew Old Testament written in Bradford's hand. To this he has prefixed the following:

Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing
desire to see with my own eyes, somthing of that most
ancient language, and holy tongue, in which the law
and Oracles of God were write; and in which God
and angels spake to the holy patriarchs of old
time; and what names were given to things
from the creation. And though I cañot
attaine to much herein, yet I am refresh-
ed to have seen some gliþse hereof
(as Moyses saw the land of Ca-
nan a farr of). My aime and
desire is, to see how the words
and phrases lye in the
holy texte; and to
discerne somewhat
of the same
for my owne
contente.³

² Vol. I, p. 105.

³ *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series I, Vol. XI, p. 402;
Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc., Series IV, Vol. III, p. xiv.

To Bradford, the Old Testament was never truly itself in a translation, and his quotations from it are made by preference from the original Hebrew. These Hebrew quotations are numerous in his MSS.;⁴ but, "though an angel should write, still 'tis devils must print," and the printer of these MSS. has in most cases obscured this Hebraic coloring simply by omitting the Hebrew quotations. Thus, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Series I, Vol. XI), Bradford's third "Dialogue" is printed, and in the printed reproduction of the title-page, no Hebrew is found. But reference to the photographic plate of the original MS. title-page shows that three separate lines of Hebrew head it. These Hebrew lines are made up of Psalm xxvi, 8, the first three words of Psalm xvi, 5, and the first half of the distich Psalm xxvi, 5, all the Hebrew being punctuated. We are told further⁵ that:

Two pages at the beginning of this Dialogue contain both the Hebrew and the Greek alphabet, in Bradford's hand, expressed in the original characters, with the names also of each letter spelled out in the Roman character, with some additional illustration as to long and short vowels, to aid in pronunciation. Eight pages at the end (and possibly some leaves may be wanting) contain passages from the Old Testament, in Hebrew, with English translation written underneath, from the Genevan version.

All this Hebrew is omitted in the printed reproduction, the only Hebrew that is reproduced being the word אֲדֹנָי *adoni*, p. 434, which Bradford explains as being the equivalent of Monsieur, Dominus or Mr.

A poem composed by Bradford entitled "Some observations of God's merciful dealings with us in this wilderness . . ." is preceded by the apt quotation in Hebrew of Psalm xlv, 12.

⁴ *E. g.*, *Proceedings, ibid.*, p. 466, note.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

Bradford was not the only Hebraist on the *Mayflower*, for Elder William Brewster also had some knowledge of the sacred tongue. This we judge from the inventory of the books in his library made by Bradford and others in May, 1644. In the list, the following items of Hebrew interest occur:

(10) Tromelius and Junius, *Biblia Sacra, i. e.*, the Bible translation of Tremellius, a converted Jew who will be mentioned later; (31) *Psalm Pagnii, i. e.*, possibly the Psalms with the commentary of Sanctes Pagninus, a pupil of Savonarola; (59) a book registered as *Hebrew Gramat*, which has been identified (for what reason I know not) with J. Avenarius, *Grammatices Hebraicae tres partes* 1586; (63) Buxtorf, *Lexicon, i. e.*, Hebrew Lexicon; (103) Waimes, *Christia Synagogue*, which refers to a book by Jo. Weemes, called "The Christian Synagogue, wherein is contayned the diverse reading, the right pointing, translation, and collation of Scripture with Scripture; with the customs of the Hebrewes and Proselytes" ⁶

Brewster, whose library contained about four hundred separate books, probably learned the rudiments of Hebrew during his short stay at Peterhouse College, Cambridge.

The religious character of the early settlers in New England is the determining factor in early colonial history. But an influential feature of colonial life that is often overlooked, is the fact that a considerable number of these settlers were, at least in the first half of the seventeenth century, men of classical education and broad culture. The laws against heresy and the uniformity legislation, in a word, the religious unrest and growing intolerance in England in the time of the first two Stuart kings, especially under the reforming activity of Archbishop Laud, drove many of the better-educated laymen, and a larger proportion of the non-conformist clergy over the ocean to seek religious freedom in the young Puritan colony. Cotton Mather has put on record the names of seventy-seven of these ministers who began their church life in England,

⁶ *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series II, Vol. III, p. 265; Vol. V, p. 37 *et seq.*

and who later became ministers in the churches of New England. These men brought with them the tradition of learning that flourished in the church of Old England after the Reformation, and transplanted it in New England like a Minerva birth in its full development.

Therefore it is that the sun of Hebrew scholarship in New England rose suddenly to its apogee, and then slowly but steadily declined throughout the seventeenth century. For academic Hebrew learning that flourished indigenously in the sequestered cloisters of Oxford and Cambridge, often under the care of converted Jews, could not thrive so fruitfully in the ruder atmosphere of the unfashioned colony. Indeed, our wonder and admiration are excited at finding the study of Hebrew pursued at all in the rugged little colonies subject to all the harshness and privation that fall to the lot of a pioneer settlement in a virgin land, among an unfriendly people. And this admiring wonder is heightened when we remember the perilous and haphazard nature of communication with the motherland, the consequent isolation of the little band of scholars from all centres of learning, the extreme difficulty and inordinate expense of procuring books, the complete lack of patrons of learning, at first the absence of a local printing press, and later its inadequacy; and finally the apparent remoteness of Hebrew knowledge from the bluff, rough and ready conditions of life in the young colony.

Typical of these English-trained scholars who introduced the study of Hebrew into Massachusetts is John Cotton (1585-1652). Cotton arrived in Boston in 1633, having been induced to leave England through the disfavor shown by Laud to his Puritanic views. This divine had entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the early age of thirteen, and had subsequently become a Fellow of Emmanuel College.^a Cotton

^a Cambridge University, especially Emmanuel College, was a great stronghold of Puritanism, and there were about three Cambridge graduates to every one Oxford graduate in New England in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Mather tells us in the *Magnalia*⁷ of John Cotton's examination for his fellowship,

wherein 'twas particularly remarked, that the Poser trying his Hebrew skill by the third chapter of Isaiah, a chapter which, containing more hard words than any one paragraph of the Bible, might therefore have puzzled a very good Hebrician, yet he made nothing of it.⁸

Further he writes:⁹

The Hebrew he understood so exactly and so readily that he was able to discourse in it.

To judge what value we may assign to this statement, we must remember that a modicum of Hebrew knowledge was the common possession of every university-trained cleric of the time; and although this knowledge was in some cases, such as in the men who prepared the Authorized Version of 1611, very considerable, in the majority of cases it must have been conventionally fragmentary and rudimentary. Only rarely would this Hebrew learning have been extensive enough to have allowed of free translation from English into Hebrew. The basis of credible fact in Cotton Mather's statement, therefore, when all allowances have been made for his pious enthusiasm for the good name of his grandfather, seems to be that John Cotton understood Hebrew unusually well, and was even able on occasion to put Hebrew sentences together into a connected discourse with comparative ease.

Another representative Hebrew scholar of the time was Richard Mather (1596-1669) who, fleeing from England for non-conformity, became pastor of the Congregational Church in Dorchester in 1635. His chief contribution to Hebrew

⁷ Book III, chap. I, p. 233.

⁸ In this account, Mather is simply reproducing Samuel Whiting's (1597-1679) words with some alterations. See Whiting's "Life of John Cotton" in Alexander Young's "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts," p. 421.

⁹ *Magnalia*, III, i, p. 249.

learning—besides his son Increase—was his work as one of, if not actually the chief of, the editors of the “Bay Psalm Book.” In this work he was associated with other scholars, among whom were John Eliot, to whom we must refer later, and Thomas Welde (1590-1662).¹⁰

All three men were educated in England, Mather at Oxford, Eliot and Welde at Cambridge.

The “Bay Psalm Book,” issued in 1640 by the Cambridge press, which had been set up in the preceding year, was the third publication of that press—a broadside, “The Oath of a Free-Man,” and a small work, Pierce’s “Almanac for 1639,” being the two small publications which antedate it. It is therefore the first book of importance printed in English America, although not the first book printed on the continent, for the Spanish press in Mexico had been in existence many years earlier.

From every point of view, the “Bay Psalm Book” is a notable achievement for the time, consisting, as it does, of an original, metrical translation of the Psalms made directly from the Hebrew. Fittingly enough, in this thoroughly Hebraic first triumph of the American press, there are to be found in the preface several Hebrew words, the crude block type for which was probably specially cut for the book. It

¹⁰ This Thomas Welde returned to England a year after the publication of the book of Psalms. We find him again on the periphery of Jewish interest in 1653, when he appears as part author of the pamphlet, “A False Jew; or a Wonderful Discovery of a Scot, baptised at London for a Christian, circumcised at Rome to act a Jew; rebaptised at Hexham for a Believer, but found out at Newcastle to be a cheat.” The first edition was issued in Newcastle, 1653; the second in London, 1654. (Jacobs and Wolf, “*Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*,” p. 50, No. 268; also Nos. 266, 267.) The Scotch “Jew” was Thomas Ramsay, of whom the “*Dictionary of National Biography*,” Vol. XLVII, p. 260, gives a good account.

is worth while quoting these passages, owing to the extreme rarity of the first edition. They are as follows:

David's psalmes, some being called by himselfe מזמורים: psalms, some תהילים Hymns; some שירים, spiritual songs The word ו which we translate *and* Lastly, Because some Hebrew words have a more full and emphaticall signification then (*sic*) any one English word can or doth sometime expresse, hence wee have done that sometime which faithfull translators may doe, viz. not only to translate the word but the emphasis of it; as אל mighty God for God. ברך humbly blesse for blesse; rise to stand psalm 1, for stand, truth and faithfullness for truth.

This preface is said to be the work of Richard Mather. The alphabetical divisions of the 119th Psalm are marked in this edition by the Hebrew letters and their names in English transliteration, the two Hebrew letters ו and כ through some oversight being omitted.

In the same year that this historic Psalm book was issued, Henry Dunster (*circa* 1612-1659) became the first president of the recently founded Harvard College. From this date, the cause of Hebrew learning in New England is associated with Harvard College, where the first promise was given that the colony would not long have to depend exclusively upon imported scholarship. "New England's First Fruits," 1643, tells us of the far-seeing hopes which made the foundation of the college possible.

After God had carried us safe to *New England* and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for and looked after, was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust.

Henry Dunster had been educated at Cambridge University (B. A., 1630; M. A., 1634) and had then gone into the English ministry. But being obliged, as Cotton and Mather

had been before him, to leave England on account of his non-conformist views, he fled to New England. There he was hailed as a scholar, and, soon after his arrival in the new continent, he was chosen president of Harvard.

This choice fell upon him in his clerical capacity, for the spirit and the purpose of the new seat of learning were rigidly theological. In the sequel, fourteen years later, in 1654, Dunster had to resign his position as president of Harvard on account of his outspoken views on infant baptism.

Upon Dunster devolved much of the work of building up the college system on a firm basis. How the studies were organised we know in some detail, for the scheme of work is preserved for us in "New England's First Fruits" (London, 1643, p. 28). It reads in part as follows:

The fift day reads Hebrew, and the Easterne Tongues.
Grammar to the first yeare, houre the 8th.
To the 2d. Chaldee, at the 9th houre.
To the 3d. Syriack at the 10th houre.

Afternoone.

The first yeare practice in the Bible at the 2d. houre.
The 2d. in Ezra and Danel at the 3d. houre.
The 3d. at the 4th houre in Trostius New Testament.¹¹

The qualifications for the first degree, which were commendably ambitious for the young colony, were as follows:

Every Schollar, that on prooffe is found able to read the Originalls of the Old and New Testament in to the Latine tongue, and to resolve them Logically; withall being of godly life and conversation; And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers, and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first degree.¹²

It was the president who inspected the manners of the students thus entertained in the College, and unto his morning and evening prayers in the hall,

¹¹ This refers to the Syriac and Latin New Testament, edited by Martin Trost, 1621-22.

¹² "New England's First Fruits," *ibid.*

joined an exposition upon the chapters which they read out of Hebrew into Greek from the Old Testament in the morning, and out of English into Greek, from the New Testament in the evening,

and it was the fellows resident on the place who became Tutors to the several classes, and after they had instructed them in the Hebrew language, led them through all the liberal arts 'ere their first four years expired.¹³

At the completion of the first four years of study, in 1642, the first commencement exercises ever held in America took place. On September 26, of that year, the governor of the colony wrote back to England that the exercises for

The Students of the first classes that have beene these foure years trained up in University learning

included

Hebrew Analasis, Grammaticall, Logicall Rhetoricall of the Psalms.¹⁴

Among the theses offered by this first class of Harvard graduates in 1642 were

Hebraea est Linguarum Mater.

Consonantes et vocales Hebraeorum sunt coetaneae.

*Punctuationes Chatephatac syllabam proprie non efficiunt.*¹⁵

(Hebrew is the mother of languages.

The Hebrew consonants and vowels are of equal age.

The chateph vowel sign does not constitute a syllable.)

A thesis similar to this last one was offered by a member of the class of 1643.¹⁶

It is especially noteworthy that of six linguistic theses, one is devoted to a Latin subject, two deal with Greek subjects and three with Hebrew. The orations that marked the exercises

¹³ *Magnalia*, IV, 1, p. 9.

¹⁴ "New England's First Fruits," p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁶ Sibley, "Harvard Graduates," I, p. 75.

were made not only in Latin, but sometimes in Greek and in Hebrew also.¹⁷

From these early records, we may fairly assert that no element of instruction figured more largely or made more show in the educational course at Harvard College during the first few decades after its foundation than did Hebrew. This state of affairs was due to the Puritan spirit and to the especial enthusiasm for Hebrew shown by the first president, Dunster, and his successor in office, Charles Chauncy.

Dunster seems to have kept himself in touch with European scholars during his presidency of the college, and a letter, written by him, presenting many points of interest for this study, has been preserved.¹⁸ The date of the letter is apparently 1648. In this

copy of my lr. to Dr. Christianus Ravius Orientaliū linguarū pfeſſor Londini,¹⁹

Dunster first replies to Ravius' questions about the pronunciation of the Indian language, incidentally referring to the pronunciation of the letter ח, which he pronounced as ch in the English "chose," so as not to confound it with ה or ו on the one side, or with כ or פ on the other. He queries whether the pronunciation of פ should be as q or as k. He asks Ravius why he pronounces ט as th and ח as t. He tells us that he distinguished between ד, ו and ו', pronouncing

¹⁷ *Magnalia*, l. c.

¹⁸ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series X, Vol. I, p. 251.

¹⁹ Christian Rau (Ravius) was born, 1613, at Berlin and died, 1677, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. He travelled much in the East collecting MSS., and he published many works on Semitic languages. In London, he taught Oriental languages between 1647 and 1651. It is noteworthy, from a Jewish point of view, that in 1651 he bought the Hebrew printing outfit of Menasseh ben Israel for a thousand florins given him by Queen Christina of Sweden, herself an accomplished Hebraist and a friend of Menasseh.

them as s, sh, and sch, respectively, in the English words "sew," "shew," and "eschew." Finally, he questions whether y should be pronounced as gn or y. He proceeds:

To yor 8th and 9th. The students in the Colledge to whom I have imparted as occasion requireth, yor Hebrew sheet Grammar, wth yor Conjugationall, Hebrew Table doe return you hearty thanks, as I myselfe doe for yor notes on Udall's Grammar, and yor Orthographicall delineation.

Lastly wee professe orselves unable to answer the Tender of your good will and propensity of spirit towards us. Our Infant Colledge compared wth the Academyes in Europe, being like Mantua unto Rome, and as unworthy to confine a man of your parts and place, as that small Town the Prince of the Latin Poets. Yet neverthelesse, if Divine providence should waft you over the Atlantick Ocean, or if yor Spirit desire to see what sons of Seth wander in these woods, then Harvard Colledge would think itselfe honoured in yor visit.

From these words it would appear that Ravius, who spent many years of his life travelling in the East making a comparative study of Oriental languages and collecting MSS., wished to be invited over the ocean by Harvard College, in order to have the opportunity of studying the language of the Indians, doubtless hoping to find in it some Semitic affinities. This was a wish that Dunster delicately says the college was unable to gratify.

Further on in the letter, Dunster thanks Ravius for a box of Oriental books sent out to the college, and proceeds to name the books that they would be most glad to receive, mentioning especially Buxtorf's [Hebrew] Concordances and the Bible, and "what soever Hebrew, Caldee, Syriack or Arabick authors" should be sent. He concludes:

A wonderfull impulse unto these studies lyes on the spirits of our students, some of wch can wth ease dextrously translate Hebrew, and Caldee, into Greek.

Dunster, as president of Harvard, was looked upon as the best Hebraist of his time; so that when it was decided to

subject the version of the Psalms in the "Bay Psalm Book" to a literary revision,

they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who revised and refined this translation; and (with some assistance from one Mr. Richard Lyon, who being sent over by Sir Henry Mildmay as an attendant upon his son, then a student in Harvard College, now resided in Mr. Dunster's house) he brought it into the condition wherein our churches ever since have used it.²⁰

This revised edition was issued in 1651.

For the reason stated in the opening paragraph, it is not necessary to devote any detailed or lengthy attention to the minor figures of the period. Yet, before proceeding to the second president of Harvard, it may be mentioned, as a characteristic sign of the general interest in Hebrew shown at the time, that a New England work published in London in 1648 entitled "The Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth-upon the Indians in New England," by Mr. Thomas Shephard, is prefaced by an epistle to the reader signed by twelve ministers, in which the quotation of a Hebrew word from Isaiah xxvi, 16, is made in Hebrew characters, and in which the following sentence occurs:

Where are the churches of Asia, once famous for the gospel, for general Councils, now places for *Zim* and *Ochim*,²¹ their habitation desolate? where are those ancient people of the Jews who were (*segulla micol hagnâmim*) his peculiar and chosen people of all nations?

The reason for the frequent extraneous quotations of Hebrew words in the literature of the period will be clearer in the sequel.

We are told of the Rev. Samuel Whiting,²² another divine educated at Cambridge University, England, that especially he was accurate in Hebrew, in which primitive and expressive language he took much delight.

²⁰ *Magnalia*, III, xii, p. 367 *et seq.*

²¹ Hebrew for wild cats and jackals, Isaiah xiii, 21.

²² *Magnalia*, III, xxviii, p. 456.

In his *Oratio quam Comitibus Cantabrigiensibus Americanis Peroravit* . . . 1649, occur three lines of Hebrew at the end of page 16.²³ This rare tract, preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is not in the Lenox Library, New York, and I have not been able to examine a copy. Mr. Saxton, a Yorkshireman who died in England, but who was for a time minister in Scituate and in Boston, is described as "a great Hebrician."²⁴

One other figure that may delay us for a moment is that of the pious Michael Wigglesworth (born in England, 1631; died, 1705), best known as the author of the appalling poem "The Day of Doom." He graduated at Harvard under Dunster in 1651, and acted as fellow and tutor there from 1652 to 1654. We may fairly assume, therefore, that in knowledge he represented the best that Harvard produced at the time. Moreover, although the president of Harvard was later chosen sometimes for his character rather than for his learning, it must be some tribute to Wigglesworth's reputation for learning as well as to his saintliness of character that, in 1684, when he was minister at Malden, Massachusetts, he was approached in regard to the presidency of his *alma mater*. This offer he could not consider on account of ill health. Perhaps it is as well for the college that he could not accept the office of president; for, in spite of his minute and touching devotion and his profound and childlike religious spirit, his early teaching seems to have met with very poor success—at least in his own eyes. His diary is filled with sad reflections on the contumacia and disrespectful negligēt carriages of my pupils.

We read some of the entries in his diary of 1653 with sympathetic interest:

August 30th. God appear'd somewt in inclining ye spt [spirit] of my pupils to ye study of Hebrew as I had pray'd yt god would do.

²³ *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series II, Vol. IX, p. 414.

²⁴ *Magnalia*, III, iii, p. 536.

1653-4. February 14: Upon ye obstinate untowardn. of some of my pupils in refusing to read Hebrew, god brings to mind & ashameth me of my own pversn herefore both to my naturall parêts & Achademical: & also I see that this is ye spt & I fear if ye Lord prvêt not wil be ye ruin of ye whole cōuntry A spt of unbridled licētiousn, Lord in mercy heal, or I know not wt wil become of N. England.

March 7: I was much pplexed in mind wth many thoughts to & fro, about leaving ye colledge, one while ready to resolv upō it almost, and quite another way: & I know not wt to do, how to live here & keep a good cōsciēce bec. my hands are bound in point of reforming disorders; my own weakness & pupils froward negligēce in ye Hebrew stil much exercise me.²⁵

When, in 1654, Henry Dunster had to give up his position as president of Harvard College, owing to his views on infant baptism, he was succeeded by Charles Chauncy, or Chauncey, who held office until his death in 1672. Chauncy, like Cotton, Richard Mather, and Dunster, was a non-conformist refugee. In his youth in England he had enjoyed the benefit of a training at Cambridge University, graduating B. A. in 1613 and M. A. in 1617. He had later been nominated Hebrew professor at Trinity College, although he was actually elected to the professorship in Greek.

He was indeed a person incomparably well skilled in all the learned languages, especially in the Oriental, and eminently in the Hebrew; in his obtaining whereof his conversation with a Jew for the space of a year was no little advantage to him.²⁶

Who was this Jew? Mather's statement presumably refers to the time when Chauncy was studying at Cambridge,²⁷ and

²⁵ Sibley, "Harvard Graduates," Vol. I, pp. 265, 267, 268. A similar entry under August 29, 1653, is given in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, p. 108, note 25.

²⁶ *Magnalia*, III, xxiii, p. 419.

²⁷ Joseph Lebowich in his popular sketch, "Semitics at Harvard College" in *The Menorah*, Vol. XXXIV (1903), makes the statement that "the students (at Harvard) may have been helped by a Jew who lived in the same house with President Chauncy." This inference from Mather's words seems hardly justifiable. We know of no Jews in New England at this date.

it may well be correct. For, although theoretically there were no Jews in England between 1290 and the time of Cromwell, we know from many sources that during the whole period individual Jews lived practically unmolested in England. Besides such well-known examples as Roderigo Lopez, we find Jews, nominally converted, teaching Hebrew at the universities. Tremellius, a converted Italian Jew, who perhaps returned to Judaism before his death in 1580,²⁸ taught Hebrew at Cambridge in the middle of the sixteenth century. Philip Ferdinand, a Polish Jew, born in 1555, was professor of Hebrew first at Oxford, later at Cambridge. In the year 1598, shortly before his death, he obtained a pension from the *Domus Conversorum*. Chauncy, born in 1592, could not have studied with either of these two men, who moreover passed as Christians.

But it is not impossible to suppose that his Hebrew intercourse may have been with one Jacob Barnett, who gave instruction in Hebrew at Oxford early in the seventeenth century. Lucien Wolf, in "Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, 1888" (p. 73), reproduces from the "Life of Isaac Casaubon" a lively account of Barnett and the manner in which he hoaxed the university with his promised conversion. He writes in part:

When Casaubon visited Oxford in 1613, [the year in which Chauncy graduated from Cambridge] he met Barnett, and was at once struck by his profound learning and his great natural capacities. He was particularly pleased to find that he was not only well read in Hebrew literature, but that he also knew Latin. Casaubon seized the opportunity of reading Hebrew with one so well informed, and when he bade farewell to the University, carried off Jacob with him to London and installed him in his own house. He found profit, he says, not only in the lessons of the young Jew but also in his conversations

²⁸ Increase Mather, however, quotes his dying words as "*Vivat Christus et pereat Barabas*," preface to Judah Monis' "Nothing but the Truth . . .," and in Tremellius' will, dated July 31, 1580, two months before his death, he reaffirms his Christianity.

These words are almost identical with those Cotton Mather uses of Chauncy. What Casaubon did Chauncy may also have done. But against the supposition that Barnett was the Jew mentioned by Mather, stands the fact that Chauncy graduated from Cambridge in 1613, and at that time Barnett was connected with Oxford.

We know, however, of a Jew resident about this time in Cambridge who may have been Chauncy's instructor. The English "Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1623-1625," p. 517 (quoted by Mr. Wolf, *ibid.*, p. 76), mentions a pension of £40 granted to a Jew at Cambridge in 1625. This Jew may have been Antonio de Verona, also called Maria Antonio de Verona. He received £2 from King's College, Cambridge, in 1623, appearing in the account books as Jew, and on his behalf Queen Henrietta Maria wrote to the authorities at Oxford University on January 19, 1625.²⁹ Chauncy was still a figure in Cambridge in these years—in 1624 he took the degree of B. D.—as is shown by the fact that in 1626 this Antonio de Verona wrote a Hebrew panegyric on him. The original of this Hebrew panegyric on Chauncy by de Verona seems to be lost; but Ezra Stiles has preserved the English translation of it, made in 1712, in his diary under the date of December 31, 1779 (Vol. II, pp. 399-400).

These facts, that this Antonio de Verona was a Jew, that he was a contemporary of Chauncy at Cambridge University, that he knew Chauncy, as appears from the encomium he wrote on him, and that the encomium was written in Hebrew, are strong grounds for identifying de Verona with the Jew mentioned by Mather as having aided Chauncy in the study of Hebrew.

²⁹ *The Athenaeum*, London, 1887, pp. 279, 311, 341. This name *Maria Antonio de Verona*, under which he appears in the letter of the Queen, has misled G. A. Kohut in "Ezra Stiles and the Jews" (p. 71 *et seq.*), into thinking him a woman.

Whether the Jew who was Chauncy's teacher was de Verona or not, Chauncy's knowledge of Hebrew seems to have been at least as good as, and probably better than, that of his predecessor Dunster. Matching Cotton Mather's superlatives of praise is Ezra Stiles' judgment of Chauncy's scholarship. Stiles looked upon Chauncy as

the most truly & extensively learned of all the N. Engld Fathers, especially in the Sciences, . . . and the Knowledge of the learned Languages, particularly Greek & besides Hebrew, its several Dialects as Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan⁸⁰

Every day in the college hall at Harvard, Chauncy "expounded a chapter (which was first read from the Hebrew) of the Old Testament."⁸¹ How this was done, we know from "The Lawes of Harvard College" of the year 1655.⁸² Section 2, paragraph 2, reads as follows:

It is appointed that part of the holy Scripture be read at morneing and evening prayer, to wit some part of the Old Testament at morneing and some part of the new at evening prayer on this manner: Thatt all Students shall read the old Testament in some portion of it out of Hebrew into Greek, and all shall turne the new Testament out of English into greeke, after which one of the Bachelors or Sophisters shall in his course Logically analyse that which is read, by which meanes both theire skill in logick, and the Scripture's originall language may be Increased.

This custom, which had been introduced by Dunster, was later neglected, perhaps in the time immediately after Chauncy's death. For Cotton Mather's special mention of the practice under Dunster and Chauncy seems to imply that it was not the custom of the college when he wrote the *Magnalia*. We know further from Leverett's diary that in January and May, 1708, this "ancient and laudable practice was revived."

⁸⁰ Diary, Vol. I, p. 133, quoted in G. A. Kohut, "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," p. 71.

⁸¹ *Magnalia*, III, xxiii, p. 423.

⁸² *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 210.

At morning prayers all the undergraduates were ordered, beginning with the youngest, to read a verse out of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek, except the Freshmen, who were permitted to use their English Bibles in this exercise.³³

The order of studies under Chauncy, as revealed in the copy of the laws for 1655, was much the same as under Dunster. Section 2, paragraph 5, reads:

In the first yeare after admission for foure dayes of the week all Students shall be exercised in the Studies of the greek and Hebrew tongues, onely beginning logick in the morneing towards the latter end of the yeare

The qualifications for the first degree began (paragraph 10):

Every Scholler that upon prooffe is able to read extempore the pentateuch of [or] the new testament into latine out of the originall tongues, and be skilled in logick

One stray notice, preserved in the diary of the Rev. William Adams (1650-1685), gives us another glimpse of the college at work under Chauncy. On May 5, 1671, Adams entered in his diary:

Our class declaimed their last declamations upon ye four languages Hebr. Gr. Lat. Eng. and ye 5 senses with an oration salutatory and valedictory.³⁴

We know little of the progress, or retrogression perhaps we should say, of Hebrew studies in the college in the thirteen years that intervened between the death of Chauncy and the election of Increase Mather as president of Harvard in 1685. One event only stands out. John Lightfoot, one of the finest Christian Hebraists of his day, whose *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* are read still in Christian circles, died in 1675, and bequeathed his Oriental books to the library of Harvard College. Gibbon tauntingly says of Lightfoot that "by con-

³³ Quincy, "History of Harvard University," I, p. 439.

³⁴ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 13. There is also a Latin and Hebrew entry in this diary under Dec. 1, 1670.

stant reading of the rabbis he became almost a rabbi himself"; and the accession to Harvard's young library of the library of a man who loved to read rabbinical literature in its original language, must have given a great impetus to a more original study of Hebrew than before had been possible, if we may assume, as we probably may, that the men into whose hands it fell were capable of making good use of it.

Before considering the last two representatives of Hebrew learning in New England in the seventeenth century, we must take passing notice of the Semitic attainments of one of Chauncy's best scholars—Thomas Thacher. Thacher was born in England in 1620, and came to Boston as a lad of fifteen. He entered the family of Chauncy, then minister at Scituate, and

under the conduct of that eminent scholar, he became such a one himself He was not unskilled in the tongues, especially in the Hebrew, whereof he did compose a Lexicon; but so comprized it, that within *one sheet* of paper, he had every considerable word of the language And to all his other accomplishments there was this added, that he was a most incomparable scribe there are yet extant monuments of Syriac and other oriental characters of his writing, which are hardly to be imitated.³⁵

We need not regard this dictionary as being the first American work in Hebrew scholarship. It cannot have been more than a student's MS. vocabulary. Ezra Stiles also describes Thacher as "Very learned in the Oriental Languages."³⁶

Scholastically, the most important figures in New England during the closing years of the seventeenth century were undoubtedly Increase Mather and his son Cotton. These two men brilliantly continued the family tradition of Hebrew scholarship derived from Richard Mather and John Cotton.

Increase Mather (1639-1723), sixth son of Richard Mather

³⁵ *Magnalia*, III, xxvi, p. 442.

³⁶ Ezra Stiles, "Diary," II, 332. See also p. 73, note 69.

(whose work on the "Bay Psalm Book" has already been noticed), was called in 1685 to act as president of Harvard College, a post which had not been worthily filled since Chauncy's death in 1672. The man who now took the helm was the first native American to become president of Harvard, a position he held until 1701. He had graduated from the college under Chauncy in 1656, and then had gone to study in Europe, graduating again at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1658. Throughout his life he devoted the major portion of his days to his library, in which works in and on Hebrew figured in a not inconsiderable number. In the diary of Judge Sewall, the following entry occurs under the date of Wednesday, July 1, 1685:³⁷

Commencement Day . . . Besides disputes there are four orations. One Latin by Mr. Dudley; and two Greek, one Hebrew by Nath Mather, and Mr. President [Increase Mather] after giving the Degrees made an Oration, in Praise of Academical Studies and Degrees, Hebrew Tongue.

This sort of learned show, which in the case of Hebrew was kept up in Harvard until 1817,³⁸ was common at the time in Europe. We find, for example, under the date of April 29, 1689, in Sewall's diary, kept while he was in England:

In the morning saw the Westminster Scholars; three of them made Oration in Hebrew, Greek and Latin before the Dean and Delegates.³⁹

A digression may here be permitted to take note of Sewall's Hebrew scholarship and his interest in affairs Jewish. He is described by Sibley⁴⁰ as "a diligent student of the Bible in the original languages." His Hebrew knowledge was prob-

³⁷ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Series V, Vol. V, p. 85.

³⁸ E. J. Young, *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series I, Vol. XVIII, p. 122.

³⁹ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Series V, Vol. V, p. 85.

⁴⁰ "Harvard Graduates," Vol. II, p. 354.

ably of the same character as that of the average graduate of Harvard in his day. We find recorded in his diary under the date of August 8, 1689, the expenditure of eighteen shillings for Leusden's Hebrew Bible, and under January 30, 1701-2:

Cousin Moodey of [New] York comes to see me; upon enquiry about a Hebrew word, I found he had no lexicon; and I gave him my Buxtorf.

Sewall was a wealthy man, and could afford to buy and give away books. On June 10, 1700, he wrote "to John Love, Merch^t in St. Lawrence Lane, London," ordering many books. On July 1 he added a further list of desiderata. This second list included:

Account of a Jew lately converted, and baptised at the Meeting-house near Ave-Mary-Lane: Four [copies] of them.⁴¹

This probably refers to a pamphlet written by a certain Shalome Ben Shalomoh, entitled "A true Narrative of God's gracious dealings with the soul of Shalome b. Shalomoh, of the circumcision after the flesh; as delivered to the Church of Christ assembled at their Meeting House, Rosemary Lane, Sept. 29th, 1699."⁴² Another time when ordering books from London, Sewall specifies among them "Dr. Lightfoot's Works in Volumes."⁴³

There are several items of Jewish interest in his diary. While in London, he writes under the date of Monday, July 29, 1689:

This 29th July the Jews have great joy by reason of a Priest come to Town in the Harwich Coach, they having not had one a long time.

The "Priest" mentioned is the Haham Solomon Aylion, who was appointed Haham of the community on the 19th of Sivan, corresponding with June 7, 1689. The previous Haham,

⁴¹ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series VI, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁴² This title is listed in Jacobs and Wolf, *supra*, No. 793, p. 117.

⁴³ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series VI, Vol. II, p. 11.

Jacob de Joseph Abendana, had died on Rosh Hashana in 1685. Another notice of his London sight-seeing, written by Sewall in an interleaved almanac of 1689, reads:

Monday March 18, 1689. Went and saw the Jews' burying Place at Mile-End: Some Bodies were laid East and West: but now all are ordered to be laid North and South. Many tombs. Engravings are Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, English, sometimes on the same stone. Part of the ground is improv'd as a garden, the dead are carried through the keeper's house. First Tomb is abt the year 1659. Brick wall built abt part. Ont's two sides 5444, Christi 1684, Tamuz 21, June 23, as I remember.⁴⁴ I told the keepr afterwards wisht might meet in Heaven: He answerd, and drink a Glass of Beer together, which we were then doing.⁴⁵

An item of indirect Jewish interest is contained in the diary under the date of Friday, January 13, 1687-8. Joshua Gee called to see him, and

said Gee presents me with a pair of Jerusalem garters which cost above 2 pieces ⁸ [Spanish dollars] in Algiers: were made by a Jew.

This notice of a skilful Jewish artisan recalls a remark made by Increase Mather in his "Cases of Conscience" (1693, p. 247):

There is newly published a book (mentioned in the *Acta Eruditorum*) wherein the Author (Wiechard Valvassor) relates

⁴⁴ Sewall's memory was not quite accurate. The earliest burial seems to have been that of Isaac Brito in Ellul 5417, 1657. There was another interment the following year, and two in the year 5420. One of these two was that of Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, who was buried 26th Heshvan, 5420, 12th November, 1659. It may well be that the tombstone of this prominent man was pointed out to Sewall as being the oldest in the ground. Furthermore Sewall's synchronization is not quite correct. Tammuz 21, 5444, corresponded with July 3, 1684, and June 23, therefore, with Tammuz 11. He also seems to confuse the *Metaher* house with the cemetery keeper's house. The cemetery in question is the old Sephardic Beth Holim cemetery, leased by Carvajal and Simon de Caceres in 1657. This de Caceres is the one who enters into the history of Barbados and Chili.

⁴⁵ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series V, Vol. V, p. 301.

that a Venetian Jew instructed him (only he would not attend his instruction) how to make a Magical Glass which should represent any Person or thing according as he should desire.⁴⁵

Two other notices of Jewish interest in Sewall's diary, one under February 5, 1704, chronicling the death of a Jew named Frazon or Frazier, whom Cotton Mather had unsuccessfully attempted to convert to Christianity, and the other under September 13, 1702, taking note of the baptism of a Jew named Simon, have already been referred to in Mr.

⁴⁵ At this period, the Jews were widely credited with using both black and white magic. *En passant* it may be noted, now that the pranks and antics of the New England witches are so often explained as spiritualistic phenomena, that in the seventeenth century Jews seem to have dabbled in the medium's art. Frederick Brentz, a converted Jew, wrote a work in which he claimed to explain, "How the Jews raised tables with stones of several hundredweights on them by means of black magic." A Jew Dsalman, with the surnames of Solomon and Zebi, published a reply or apology, entitled *Theriok*, in which he said: "We are accused of raising tables by black magic; whilst we whisper hellish names into each other's ears the tables ascend. We do not deny the raising of tables, but it is effected by practical cabala, which is founded on holy names, and is no devilish work. We sing holy songs during the performance, which is intended to glorify God's power." Christopher Arnold, a German astronomer (died 1695), wrote, in 1674, to a friend that a Jew of Fürth on a certain occasion showed hospitality to some Jewish students from Würzburg, and that as an acknowledgment of his kindness they showed himself a marvellous sight: They placed heavy weights on a table, on which the servants also sat down, and then pronouncing a sacred name, the table with all the weights and men on it rose high into the air, and by the power of the same name, slowly came down again. See "The Gaming World," by *Rouge et Noir*. This wonder working by the power of the *Shem Hameforash* is well known in Jewish legend, and subsequently created the fame of the various Baal Shems.

Hühner's paper on "The Jews of New England prior to 1800,"⁴⁷ and by Rev. G. A. Kohut.⁴⁸

Sewall took great interest in Jews, his interest springing from the millenarian hope of their speedy conversion to Christianity. He even composed a poem on this theme.⁴⁹ This interest reveals itself further in a letter written by him on March 12, 1701-2, to his cousin Jeremiah Dummer, then at Leyden, in Holland. He writes therein:

You will pleasure me if you send me word, when the Jews observed their last Jubilee: and whether with them, a Jubilee do not contain Fifty years. And whether the Jews in Holland and elsewhere doe begin their weekly Sabbath in the evening.⁵⁰

To return to Sewall's notice of the commencement exercises at Harvard College in 1685, at which Nathanael Mather made a Hebrew oration, and Increase Mather, the newly appointed president, made another. This Nathanael Mather was a son of Increase Mather. He was born in 1669, and as a lad he showed unusual mental precocity.

When he was but twelve years old he was admitted into the Colledge by strict examiners; and many months after this passed not, before he had accurately gone over all the Old Testament in Hebrew as well as the New in Greek . . . He commenced bachelour of arts at the age of sixteen, and in the act entertained the auditory with an Hebrew oration which gave a good account of the academical affairs among the ancient Jews. Indeed the

⁴⁷ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 11, p. 79. In note 3 the words "The forgery was so plainly detected that Mr. Cotton Mather confest it, after which Mr. Frasier would never be persuaded to hear any more of Christianity," are attributed to Judge Sewall. This is inaccurate. They are the words of the anonymous author of the pamphlet, "A Modest Enquiry into the Grounds and Occasions of a late Pamphlet Intituled a Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New England." *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series V, Vol. VI, p. 80*.

⁴⁸ "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," p. 42.

⁴⁹ *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series II, Vol. II, p. 41.

⁵⁰ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series VI, Vol. I, p. 268.

Hebrew language was become so familiar with him, as if (to use the expression which one had in an ingenious elegy upon his death) he had apprehended it should quickly become the only language which he should have occasion for Rabbinnick learning he had likewise no small measure of; and the questions referring unto the Scriptures which philology is conversant about, came under a very critical notice with him.

So wrote his elder brother Cotton.⁵¹ This early promise never reached fulfilment; for, before Nathanael Mather completed his twentieth year, overstudy, added to the austere self-mortification and morbid religious torture which he practiced on himself, brought on his death.

The appointment of Increase Mather as president of Harvard marks a revival of activity in the college. The college could not but gain from the scholarly enthusiasm and eminently practical energy of its new president. For Increase Mather was, besides being a scholar, a man of the world. His literary activity was remarkable, at least 136 works of his being known. Many of these contain citations of Hebrew. For example, in his "Remarkable Providences . . ." (London, 1856, a reprint of the 1684 Boston edition), he quotes (p. 77) two Hebrew words from Job xxxvii, 5. On page 80 he argues rightly that the word רשפים in Psalm lxxviii, 41, translated by the Authorized Version "hot thunder-bolts," really means "lightning." The same meaning he gives (p. 88) to אש אלהים of Job i, 16. On page 130 he speaks of "teraphims," giving a quotation from Rashi. On page 178 he refers to some Talmudic and cabbalistic ideas of devils called *Shedim*, dismissing the subject with the remark that "such Jewish fables are so foolish as that they need no confutation." He quotes from Josephus a method of exorcism, and a description of the fabled plant, the mandrake, adding:

He speaketh untruly in saying that they learned such nefarious arts from Solomon for they had them from the heathen who received them from the devil himself.

⁵¹ *Magnalia*, IV, x, p. 133.

What Isaac D'Israeli might have called a curiosity of literature is recorded on page 212. Increase Mather there writes:

Not long since Fran. Mercur. Helmont designing to teach a deaf man to speak, concluded it would be more easily practicable if the experiment were made with an eastern wide-mouthed language which does remarkably expose to the eye the motions of the lips, tongue and throat. Accordingly he tried with the Hebrew tongue, and in a short time his dumb schollar became an excellent Hebrician.

Finally, at the end of the book, he quotes Psalm iii, 2, in the original Hebrew, and adds over the word *finis* its Hebrew equivalent **סוף**.

It may be noted *en passant*, that the love for Hebrew shown by so many Puritan divines, did not necessarily imply a love for Jews. Increase Mather, however, shows a praiseworthy fairness of mind towards Jews, of whom he must have known at this period more from books than from life. For avowed Jews were rare in the British Isles at the time when Mather was there, and much rarer in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. This fact is brought out by a letter written to Joseph Dudley,³² that has been overlooked by Mr. Hühner in his paper on "The Jews of New England (other than Rhode Island) prior to 1800," *Publications*, No. 11, and by Mr. Lebowich in his paper on "The Jews in Boston till 1875," *Ibid.*, No. 12. Increase Mather denies authorship of this letter which purported to be written by him. In the letter, which Mather claims was a forgery, occurs the sentence:

This comes to you by way of Barbados, a Jew going thither, and so for your place [Amsterdam] has promised to deliver it in your hands.

Of this sentence Mather writes:

He pretends in the close of his forgery, as if I had sent the letter by a Jew by way of Barbados. This doth more fully demonstrate the forgery; for I knew not that there was any

³² *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Series III, Vol. VIII, p. 102.

Jew in Boston the last winter, nor did I learne that any Jew did go from thence to Barbados: to be sure, I saw none, nor did I ever send a letter by any Jew in my life.

This forged letter, although it makes clear the fact that Jews were not settled in Boston at the time, allows us to assume that transient Jews now and again came to New England at this period. The Marranos, as is well known, had extensive business relations in Barbados and the West Indies, and it is not improbable that Marranos, not recognisable as Jews, passed through Boston from time to time on the way from Europe to the West Indies.⁵³

Mather's open-minded attitude towards Jews is shown further in his "Mystery of Israel's Salvation," London, 1669. In this, constant reference is made to Jewish authorities, *e. g.*, Abarbanel, Benjamin of Tudela, Ibn Ezra, Saadya, Kimchi, Rashi, etc., and Hebrew words are repeatedly quoted. Further, he denies (p. 173) that the Jews have falsified the Hebrew text of the Bible with malicious corruption:

I believe that this is a very false and injurious charge against them.

He doubts (p. 175) the blood accusation and the charge that the Jews poison wells to create epidemics of plague. He wonders, and this seems to be the "Mystery" of his title, how the Jews who blaspheme Jesus in the synagogues—this charge he does not doubt—and who call the gospel *און גליון*, *Aven gillaion* (Evangelion) "a volume of lies," can ever be saved; nevertheless, he has full faith that, through a Divine Mystery, Christian salvation will eventually come to Israel.

To multiply citations from the specimens of Hebrew learning which bristle in some of Increase Mather's writings would

⁵³ Sewall's letter to Dummer, written in 1702, from which quotation has been made above, showing how Sewall sought for information from Europe about Jewish customs, might also be taken to indicate that a professing Jew was truly a *rara avis* in Massachusetts in the second half of the seventeenth century.

be of casual interest. But a correspondence which he conducted in 1687 with John Leusden must be dealt with more fully, because of its incidental bearing on the Indian-Israel theory, and because it resulted in two editions of the Hebrew Psalter which are of unique bibliographical character. John Leusden, one of the most learned Hebraists of his day, was professor of Hebrew at Utrecht⁵⁴ from 1650 until his death in 1699. He had as a young man, after finishing his university course, proceeded to Amsterdam, where he had deepened his knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish literature and customs by learning directly from the Jews. His interest is heightened further from the Jewish point of view by his co-operation with the famous Amsterdam rabbi-printer, Joseph Athias, in the preparation of the 1660 Amsterdam edition of the Hebrew Bible. Leusden, like many others in Europe at the time, and like Ravius in 1648, was curious about the Indians, their evangelisation, and the theory that they might prove to be the lost ten tribes of Israel; and in this connection, Increase Mather was drawn into correspondence with him, more especially about the missionary work of John Eliot, the "apostle to the Indians."

To understand the correspondence which passed between Leusden and Increase Mather, we must go back a little, and explain how Eliot's missionary work among the Indians came about. John Eliot (1604-1690) was born in England and educated at Cambridge University. He arrived in Boston in November, 1631, a refugee from Laud's persecution. He has already been noticed in this paper as one of the three ministers who prepared the "Bay Psalm Book." Cotton Mather says of him:⁵⁵

He was a most acute grammarian: and understood very well the languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in.

⁵⁴ Not Leyden as "The Jewish Encyclopedia" says, Vol. II, p. 268.

⁵⁵ *Magnalia*, III, iii, p. 494.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, a wide interest was aroused in the American Indians. In September, 1644, Menasseh ben Israel had taken down a deposition of Aaron Levi, otherwise known as Antonio Montezinos, declaring that the Peruvian Indians recited the *Shema'* and observed Jewish customs. Menasseh was spurred on by this story to write his *Esperança de Israel*, Amsterdam, 1650. The account therein set forth created a great sensation, and, in the following years, was translated into Latin (by Menasseh himself), Dutch, English, Judæo-German, and Hebrew. In 1646, the saintly Eliot had turned his attention to the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, being encouraged in his heroic missionary efforts, as Cotton Mather tells us, through the belief that our Indians are the posterity of the dispersed and rejected Israelites, concerning whom our God has promised that they shall yet be saved by the deliverer coming to turn away ungodliness from them. He saw the Indians using many parables in their discourses; much given to anointing of their heads; much delighted in dancing, especially after victories; computing their time by nights and months; giving dowries for wives . . . and accustoming themselves to grievous mournings and yellings for the dead; all which were usual things among the Israelites. They have, too, a great unkindness for our swine, but I suppose that is because our hogs devour the clams which are a dainty with them. He also saw some learned men looking for the lost Israelites among the Indians in America, and counting them that they had *thorow-good* reasons⁵⁶ for doing so. And a few small arguments, or indeed but conjectures meeting with a favourable disposition in the hearer will carry some conviction

⁵⁶ Cotton Mather's pun. Dr. Thomas Thorowgood wrote in 1648, and published in 1650, a work called "Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race." This work called public attention in Europe to Eliot's efforts, and appealed for support for them. As an appendix to this book, Thorowgood printed, through the instrumentality of John Durie, the deposition of Montezinos. Sir Hamon L'Estrange issued a rejoinder called "Americans no Iewes . . ." To this, in 1660, Thorowgood replied with another work, "Jews in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race."

with them; especially if the report of a Manasseh ben Israel be to back them.⁵⁷

The excitement over the Indian-Israel possibilities did not rapidly die away, and therefore it is that we find John Leusden, in 1687, in correspondence with Increase Mather about Eliot's work among the Indians.

Mather's letter to Leusden, the original of which was written in Latin, opens as follows:

Written by Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Word of God at Boston, and Rector of the Colledge at Cambridge in New England to Dr. John Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht. Translated [by Cotton Mather] out of Latin into English.

Worthy and much honoured Sir: Your letters were very grateful to me, by which I understand that you and others in your famous University of Utrecht desire to be informed concerning the converted Indians in America; take therefore a true account of them in a few words.

Mather then related in some detail how John Eliot took up the work of evangelisation among the Indians. He enumerates the different assemblies and churches of Christianised Indians, describing their simple service of song, scripture, and prayer. He names the white ministers who were devoting themselves to the spiritual care of the Indians and also the baptised Indian ministers, summing up in the following words:

In short, there are six Churches of baptised Indians in New England and eighteen assemblies of Catechumens professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians, there are four and twenty who are preachers of the word of God, and besides these, there are four English ministers who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue.

bilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some Additionalss to the former Conjectures." One of the many prefaces to this work is a letter from Eliot, filling twenty-eight closely printed pages. Albert M. Hyamson, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, 1903.

⁵⁷ *Magnalia*, Vol. I, p. 506 *et seq.*

He ends with the following words:

I salute the famous professors in your University, to whom I desire you to communicate this letter, as written to them also. Farewel, worthy sir, the Lord preserve your health for the benefit of your country, his church and of learning. Yours ever, Increase Mather.⁵⁸

This letter, which is dated Boston, New England, July 12, 1687, stirred up a profound sensation in Europe, and it was soon published in Latin, in English, in German, in Dutch, and in French. Cotton Mather follows his "Englishing" of the letter with this note:

After the writing of this letter, there came one to my hands from the famous Dr. Leusden together with a new and fair edition of his Hebrew Psalter dedicated unto the name of my absent parent. [Increase Mather was at the time in England on a mission on behalf of the colony and Harvard College.]

This reply of Leusden's has also been preserved; it runs as follows:

Translation of a letter from John Leusden to Increase Mather [in the handwriting of Nathaniel Mather of Dublin and London].

Most Reverend, much to bee Respected Sr,—I sought you in America, and thither on the 30th of March I sent some books, vizt a New Lexicon, a Compendium of the Greek New Testament, two Psalters in Hebrew and English and one in Hebrew and Latine. The Psalmes in Hebrew and English I dedicated to Mr. Eliot, & those four and twenty Preachers, lately heathens, now christians. The Psalmes in Hebrew and Latine I have inscribed to your Revd name. Whether you received those books in America I know not. That letter of yours, written frō London on the 24th of December I received the 16th of January. That letter which you had written to mee from America concerning the Conversion of the Indians, hath been read here with great rejoysing, & translated into the French language, & published in print. I will send you a Copy of it in French with the books. I lately received moreover two American Bibles, 2 American Grammars and other American books, as also the Indian's A. B. C. & some

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 508 *et seq.*

others, all which our Netherlanders look on with great admiration. . . .⁶⁰ I have written you largely unto America, and that in the name of our University, in answer to your letter concerning the conversion of the American Indians. You now desire fifty Hebrew Psalters for the use of the students in Harvard Colledge, which I would now have sent, but because you do not express what kind of Psalters it is you desire, whether Hebrew and Latine, or Hebrew and English, therefore I have not sent them. For I have already put forth three sorts of Psalters, vizt Hebrew and Latine, Hebrew and English and Hebrew & Dutch. As soon as you shall write back what sort of Psalters it is you desire, I will forthwith send them over to you. Much honored Sr, Farewell, frō Yours, John Leusden. Utrecht 11 of January, 1681.⁶⁰

The Hebrew and English and the Hebrew and Latin Psalters mentioned in this letter deserve description on account of their combination of American and Hebrew interest, the unique character of their dedications and their rarity. They are both small-sized volumes of about 500 pages each. The Hebrew and English Psalter (I transcribe from a copy in my possession) is entitled "ספר תהלים The / Book of Psalmes / With the New English / Translation / Published By / John Leusden / Professor of the Hebrew Tongue in the / University of Utrecht / London / Printed by Samuel Smith, and are to / be sold by him at his Shop in the sign of the / Princes Armes in S. Paul's Church-Yard 1688." The dedication on the first page runs:

This Hebrew-English Psalter is intituled To the very Reverend and pious JOHN ELIOT. The Indefatigable and faithfull Minister of the Church of Ripon, (being now in the Eighty fourth year of his age) and Venerable Apostle of the Indians in America; Who hath translated into, and published in, the American tongue, by an Antlaean Labour, the Bible and several English practical Tractats, together with Catechisms; being the first who preached the word of God to the Americans in the Indian

⁶⁰ American here means American-Indian and refers to works translated by Eliot into Algonquin.

⁶⁰ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series IV, Vol. VIII, p. 678.

tongue, and gathered a Church of Indian Converts, and administrat the Holy Supper to them.

This is followed on the second page by:

As also TO the Reverend and pious the TWENTY FOUR AMERICAN MINISTERS. Lately Gentiles, but now converted to the Christian Religion (by the Grace of God, and labour of the Reverend John Eliot and other Ministers) and publishing the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ in the American tongue (with four English Ministers) in great fervour, among the Americans in twenty four American Churches (both of baptised persons, and such as are Catechised in order to their Baptisme) lately Gentiles, but now converted Christians, I Wish you all and every one of you, all prosperity and happiness with fortunat success in converting the Americans. John Leusden, Professor at Utrecht.

These dedications are followed by a preface, dated Utrecht, March 15, 1688, which opens in the following words:

John Leusden to the Christian Reader. Having occasion to publish the Hebrew Psalter with the Latine and Dutch version, I resolved to adde the English likewise; if so be I might excite the English nation to jealousy, which is commonly very zealous to read Gods word; I have the rather done it at this time, when there is a great door of the Gospel opened in New-England by means of the Illustrious School at Boston: for at present they have there four and twenty Churches and Meeting-places of Indians; over whom four and twenty Indian Ministers are placed, who exercise their publick worship on the Lords-day, in praying, preaching, reading of Gods word, singing of Psalms, and that, in the Indian language. All this was written to me and our University in a letter, which I receivd on the 3 of February this present year 1688. from the worthy and Reverend INCREASE MATHER, Minister of the Gospel and President of the Colledge or Illustrious School at Boston.

And because that it's troublesome to learn the Hebrew without a Grammar; I have publishd a short Hebrew and Chaldaick Grammar, written in the English, printed for Mr. Samuel Smith, Book-seller at London, and for Francis Halma at Utrecht.

The Hebrew-Latin edition is of the same date as this Hebrew-English one, the preface being dated *Ipsis Kal. Aprilis*, MDCLXXXVIII, and it contains the following dedication:

Sit hoc / Psalterium Hebraeo-Latinum / inscriptum / Maxime Reverendo & Clarissimo / Viro / D. Crescentio Mathero / Verbi Divini Ministro Vigilantissimo, atque Collegii Harvardini, quod est Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum Rectori & Doctori Celeberrimo ac Honorandissimo, conversionem Indorum, in America (unā cum viginti quatuor, nuper Gentilibus sed jam Christianis Pastoribus) feliciter promoventi, cui omnia fausta & felicia in convertendis Gentilibus precatur Johannes Leusden. [Translated in the style of the dedications in the Hebrew-English Psalter, this would run: This Hebrew-Latin Psalter is intituled to the very Reverend and eminent Doctor Increase Mather, the zealously vigilant minister of the Divine word, and the illustrious and highly to be honoured Doctor and Rector of Harvard College, which is in Cambridge of New England, there prays for whom happily spreading the conversion of the Indians in America (together with 24 ministers, lately Gentiles but now Christians), all auspicious fortune for the converting of the Gentiles, John Leusden.]

These two Hebrew volumes, lastingly associated with the names of John Eliot and Increase Mather, must be among the earliest, if not actually the earliest Hebrew works directly connected with America.

From Increase Mather,^a the last president of Harvard College in this century, we pass to his son and colleague Cotton Mather (born 1662). Cotton Mather is the last and the most remarkable figure of the period. This incurably vain prodigy and learned and productive pedant began the study of Hebrew while yet a child. In the manuscript which he left his son (Paterna), he writes:

. . . . at the age of little more than eleven years I had made some entrance in my Hebrew grammar. And I think before I came to fourteen, I composed Hebrew exercises.

^a Mather's comment on the occasion of the baptism of Judah Monis should be mentioned here, as being of Jewish interest. But as it belongs to the eighteenth century (1722), and as it has been already dealt with by Mr. Kohut ("Ezra Stiles and the Jews," p. 40 *et seq.*), and others, this mention must satisfy the claims of completeness.

At the childish age of twelve, he was admitted to Harvard College, and in 1678, when sixteen years of age, he graduated Bachelor of Arts. In the list of *Quaestiones* of this class of 1678, the second thesis is entitled *An Puncta Hebraica sunt Originis Divinae. Affirmat Respondens Cottonus Matherus*. [Whether Hebrew punctuation is of divine origin. Cotton Mather maintains the affirmative.] It should be noted, *en passant*, that later, with increasing knowledge, he modified his views, and held that Hebrew punctuation had not the same divine origin as the Hebrew consonants.

Although in 1642 we found that Hebrew theses figured in almost disproportionate number among the linguistic *Quaestiones* propounded at the commencement exercises, one looks in vain for another Hebrew theme in such commencement lists as are preserved until this year 1678, when Cotton Mather essayed a Hebrew subject. Moreover, in the years immediately following this year, the disputations almost invariably neglected Hebrew themes, with the exception that in 1684 Gurdon Saltonstall chose the same Hebrew theme as Cotton Mather had selected, and in the list of 1693 occurs the thesis "Is the Hebrew language the oldest of all?" This does not allow us to infer that Hebrew learning did not figure in the commencement exercises, for we have seen that on many occasions Hebrew orations were made at the giving of degrees.⁶² But it does seem to imply that the devoting of three theses to Hebrew, and only one to Latin and two to Greek in 1642, was a spectacular effect contrived to impress the New England public attending these first commencement exercises of the new college with the erudite nature of the studies there pursued.

A full consideration of the Hebrew learning displayed in

⁶² A Hebrew oration was annually delivered at Commencement at Harvard until the year 1817. E. J. Young, *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series I, Vol. XVIII, p. 122.

Cotton Mather's publications is, within the limits of this paper, neither possible nor desirable. For, besides the fact that most of his works appeared after 1700, there is a daunting consideration which would make the most painstaking historian pause, namely, that the list of his works compiled by Sibley reaches the formidable number of 456 entries. In these circumstances, the purpose of this paper will best be served by a brief notice of that invaluable agglomeration of facts and supposed facts, pedantry and puns which makes up the *Magnalia Christi Americana, or The Ecclesiastical History of New England*.⁶³

In spite of the entertaining character of many of the passages of Hebrew interest in this work, it is impossible to quote them all here. But some notice must be given to some of the more characteristic of Mather's unnecessary outbreaks into Hebrew. The introduction to the whole work is headed *ה' א*, the Hebrew acrostic abbreviation for "God willing" ! Chapter six of the second book is entitled "*בעלי נפש* id est Viri Animati or assistants," and the third book opens with a list of ministers called "*חסידים ראשונים*" or our First Good Men." The second part of the third book is named "Sefer Jereim, i. e., Liber Deum Timentium" [the book of God-fearing men]. Chapter seven of the third book is introduced

⁶³ The edition of this monumental work to which reference is made throughout this paper is the first American edition, printed in 1820. There are altogether over half a hundred passages of Hebrew interest in this work. In order that the curious reader, and he who wishes some learned amusement, may make easy reference to them, the list of the more interesting is here given. They will be found in the first volume on pages 39, 63, 105, 120, 124, 128, 204, 212, 213, 218, 228, 232, 233, 289, 320, 367, 379, 388, 419, 423, 428, 434, 442, 456, 467, 494, 495, 533 and 536; and in the second volume on pages 7, 9, 12, 17, 21, 33, 34, 37, 73, 76, 89, 91, 100, 133, 158, 209, 228, 291, 317, 335, 388, 427, 450, 451, 480, 500, 559, 572, 582 and 583.

by a Jewish proverb. Similarly book six is labelled "Thaumaturgus vel ספר רכריניא *i. e.*, Liber Memorabilium" [book of the records], a phrase taken from the Aramaic text of Ezra iv, 15. Mather often essays original derivations involving Hebrew, perhaps the most curious being his derivation of Parnassus from פֶּרַע and נַחַש, "Parai-nahas," *i. e.*, "Hiatus Divinationis" (ii, 451), and his Midrashic attempt to derive from the word Azazel the

two properties that have signalized the devil; his being first a powerful and then an apostate spirit עו Fortis, איל Abiens, fugiens (II, 308).

He attempts, usually successfully, translations of I Samuel xv, 12 (i, 120), Malachi iv, 6 (i, 212), Isaiah ii, 22 (ii, 335), and Amos ii, 13 (ii, 583), which differ from the rendering of the Authorized Version of 1611. It should be mentioned that what Cotton Mather considered the chief work of his life is the *Biblia Americana*, a manuscript commentary on the Bible in six large volumes preserved in the library of the Boston Historical Society. To this work, which must be a mine of curious and outworn learning, I have not had access.

The rabbinical, exegetical device of *Temurah* (anagrams) is familiar to him (i, 289), and he knows of the "daughter of the voice" (ii, 317), and of the scarecrow on the temple roof (ii, 209). We are surprised to find that Mather knows that practically the earliest Bible concordance ever made was "that of R. Isaac Nathans in Hebrew" (i, 388), the reference being to the Hebrew concordance *Meir Netib* of Isaac Nathan b. Kalonymos of Arles, compiled 1437-1447. He quotes the *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah* (i, 232), Onkelos (ii, 582), and Biblical comments of Ibn Ezra (i, 428), Rashi (i, 424), Kimchi (*ibid.*), and Bachya (i, 456), and sayings of Abraham Zacuto (ii, 450) and Maimonides (ii, 572). He often quotes from the Talmuds, and is familiar with Talmudic stories, such as Bar Kappara's parable on the death of Rabbi

(i, 379), and with facts in the lives of the Rabbis, such as that R. Eleazar ben Azariah was made president of the Sanhedrin at sixteen (ii, 34), and that R. Tarphon was known as הכהן העשיר (the wealthy priest, ii, 427). His note on the Hebrew character of the Indian name of Salem has been quoted by Mr. Hühner.⁶⁴ A passage characteristic of Cotton Mather's style of recklessly displayed learning is that (i, 124) in which he speaks of the varying estimates of Sir Harry Vane, introducing the subject (in part) as follows:

There has been a strange variety of translations bestowed upon the Hebrew name of some animals mentioned in the Bible: *Kippod*, for instance, which we translate a bittern, R. Solomon will have to be an owl, but Luther will have it to be an eagle,

⁶⁴ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 11, p. 75, note 4. Mather's note is neither accurate nor original. He writes, speaking of Salem, "Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation that the name of it was rather Hebrew than Indian; for נחום signifies comfort and קִיפּ signifies an haven." This observation he found in Joshua Scot-tow's "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony," Boston, 1694, p. 51, as follows: "Its original name was Naum-kek, the Bosom of Consolation, being its signification, as the learned have observed." The remark had been made, however, much earlier. It occurs in the rare tract, "The Planter's Plea," London, 1630, p. 14, attributed to the Rev. John White. In this White mentions the possibility that the Indians may have had intercourse with Jews. He proceeds: "Howsoever it be, it falls out the name of the place which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, proves to be perfect Hebrew, being called *Nahum Keike*, by interpretation, The Bosom of Consolation." (Alexander Young, "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1623-1636," p. 12, note.) The earlier writers were accurate in giving to the word קִיפּ the meaning "bosom," Mather's "haven" is hardly correct. This early reference by White (1630) to the possible connection of the Indians with Jews, preceding Menasseh ben Israel's "Hope of Israel" by twenty years, is in itself a fact of interest.

while Paynim will have it to be an hedg-hog, but R. Kimchi will have it a snail⁶⁵

Mather has a theory (ii, 26), which, it seems, was not original with him, that the connection of the Druids with oak trees goes back to Noah and to Abraham's dwelling by the oaks of Mamre. But there occurs in the *Magnalia* a prodigious theory (ii, 500), which was all Mather's own. It is so typical of the erudition of the day, that its quotation may be allowed in order to acquaint the reader with the nature of the broadest Hebrew scholarship of the New England divines. He writes:

I make no question that the story of Og, the king of the woody Bashan, encountered and conquered by Joshua, the Lord General of Israel with his armies passing into Canaan, was the very thing which the Gentiles in after ages did celebrate under the notion of the serpent Python (which is the same with Typhon) destroyed by Apollo. Og signifies a burner, as well as the name of Typhon whom the poets make a Theomachous giant; and the Hebrews for good causes affording the name of Pethen, or a serpent unto such an enemy, we need not wonder that he is also named Python. The land where the gods gave battel to Typhon, was according to Homer *εν Αριμοις*. And as we know Syria was the land of Aram, so Strabo tells us that the Arimi are the Syrians; which with the river Orontes, called Ophites as well as Typhon in Coelo Syria, designates the very country of Og unto us. The seat of the transaction related by Homer

⁶⁵ This is not quite accurate. R. Solomon, *i. e.*, Rashi, translates *Kippod* as owl in Isaiah xxxiv, 11, and Zephaniah ii, 14; but in Isaiah xiv, 23, and in *Talmud Shabbath*, 54b, he gives it the meaning "hedg-hog." Kimchi quotes in explanation of *Kippod* the Arabic *kanafid* which means hedgehogs, and at the same time the Provençal *tortuga*, meaning tortoise or turtle, adding that the animal, whichever he means, is found always where there is water. In the middle ages, the tortoise or turtle was sometimes referred to as a snail, for instance in Maundeville's "Travels." It is not quite clear, therefore, how Kimchi translates *Kippod*. But Mather blunders in translating Luther's rendering *Igel* as eagle, the German *Igel* meaning, of course, hedg-hog.

to have been in *υδιη*, which learned men have so long sought in vain, that at last they said it was in Cimmeria, that is to say no man knows where; it is doubtless by a long mistake of the scribes put for *Ιουδια* or the land of Judaea, but when he adds that it was *χωρω ενι διρυοεντι*, in a region abounding with oaks, the region of Bashan is unquestionably pointed at.

When Homer sings about the *Τυφωος ενναι*, Typhonis Cubilia was not understood by Virgil when he made a sepulchre thereof in his translating the matter into his ninth Aeneid because he had not read the account which the scripture gives about Og's bedstead of iron. 'Tis as clear that Apollo who was anciently called Paean or an healer, is the same with Joshua whose name is of a like signification. And Apollo was called Anacaëus, likewise, but in commemoration of Joshua's exploits against the Anakim, the Phœniciaei being also but Bene Anak or the sons of Anak in the first original. They by whom Typhon was combated, came out of Egypt, and so did the armies of Joshua, an hero, of whose mother, because we read nothing, she must be called *Δηλω* or Latona a Latendo. Cadmus the Gibeonite carrying a colony in Graecia, did use there to remember the victories of Joshua, in such hymns as they had learned from their new masters in Canaan: and of those hymns it is probable the 135th Psalm in our Psalter might be one, yea the Grecian *ελελεν Ιε Ιε* used in their Paeanisms might be but rude remembrances of the Hallelujahs anciently used in these hymns of Israel.

We cannot withhold our admiration from the facile juggling with learning that this theory shows, notwithstanding its naively uncritical nature. Indeed, *mutatis mutandis*, we might almost imagine ourselves reading the pages of some modern representative of the Aryo-Semitic school of mythology.

Two references to Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* will show that his inveterate habit of punning was not restricted by any narrow linguistic limits. *Jonathan Mitchel*, we are told (iv, 4, p. 76),

made a most entertaining exposition on the book of Genesis and part of Exodus: (an evangelical *targum* of *Jonathan*).

The second example is less easy to condone. In 1694-5, Tom Maule wrote a book, protesting against the persecution of the

Quakers, and filled with what was to the authorities of the time pernicious heresy. In this connection, Cotton Mather's quick brain reverted to a demon mentioned in the Talmud under the name of Ben Temalion (Bartholomew), and he wrote (ii, 559) of this book of Tom Maule's,

None but he whom the Jews in their Talmuds call *Bentamalion* could have inspired such a slander,

and, we may add, such a pun.

Cotton Mather's valuation of a knowledge of Hebrew was of the highest. He writes:

I know that the Hebrew tongue as an exception to the general rule *Difficilia quae Pulchra*⁶⁶ is more easily attained than any that I have yet observed: and hence we see even our English women sometimes in a little while, and with a little pains, grown as expert at it as the ladies Pausa or Blasilla, by Jerom therefore celebrate;⁶⁷ and I have wished that many in the world,

⁶⁶ The most beautiful things are the most difficult to attain.

⁶⁷ Does he mean women of *New England*? Professor Moore, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VIII (1888), p. 5, assumes that he does. This is very doubtful. I know of only one New England woman of the time to whom this might possibly apply. In the diary of Ezra Stiles, under the date of April 3, 1772 (Vol. I, p. 220), the following notice occurs: "There was one woman in New England who was an Hebrician, perfectly understanding the Hebrew Bible which she used to carry with her to meeting: and also would frequently have Recourse to it in Conversation with Ministers. She was taken off a wreckt Vessel, as I understand near Plymouth in New England. After this she returned to England while a Girl, and there lived in a Jew Family and was taught Hebrew. After this she returned to New England and settled and died here. She married Mr. Parker, by whom she had a daughter *Paltah Parker*, whom she named *Paltah* or the *Deliverance of God* in memory of her being saved from the Wreck She died about 1772. This is a loose Memoir I pencilled from the Mouth of Miss Molly Brown of Boston, a Maiden Lady and Descendant from &c. I suspect there is some defect in the story—but I conclude so much is true, that she had an Ancestor brought up in a Jew Family and able to read the Hebrew Bible."

were more moved by the words of a worthy author '*Ausim spondere, illos qui Studiis Hebraicis, tantum temporis impenderent, quantum Tubulo Nicotianae imbibendo (quo nunc pars bona Studiosorum pro Hydragogo uti consuevit) tum Mane, tum Vesperi impendi solet, progressus in hujusce Linguae Cognitione, haud Vulgares brevi esse facturos, adeo ut mirentur, se esse tum dictos, antequam didicerint.*⁶⁸ Nevertheless this tongue is as easily forgotten. But being once attained and therewith preserved and improved, good men will find as our Mr. Chancey did that the conjunct of profit and pleasure of it were inexpressible, and that the talents wherewith it would furnish them to do so many services for the Church of God were such as to make them join with Luther in his protestation that he would not part with his knowledge of Hebrew for many thousands of pounds.

The Latin quotation with its contemptuous reference to tobacco smoking, and indeed, the whole paragraph, is a typical Puritan utterance, which may be paralleled by a sentence in the preface to Leusden's Hebrew English book of Psalms described above, running as follows:

I would not stir up the Young men and women, who have other necessary affairs, to the study of the Hebrew: but I exhort such only who spend their time only with idleness and vanity.

These quotations from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, which was written between 1697 and 1700 and published in London in 1702, bring us to the end of our period, and it remains now only to draw what conclusions we may from the facts that have been passed in review.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ I dare promise, that those who would spend as much time morning and evening in Hebrew studies as is given up to smoking tobacco (which many students use nowadays for imbibition), would quickly make such exceptional progress in the knowledge of this language that they would marvel at having gained so much knowledge, so to speak, unawares.

⁶⁹ Timothy Cutler can hardly be regarded as belonging to the seventeenth century. He was born in 1683 and graduated at Harvard College in 1701. He was later Rector of Yale. Ezra Stiles writes of him (Diary, II, 339), . . . "he was a great

It will be clear from what has gone before that the men who represented Hebrew learning in New England in the first half of the seventeenth century were all, as we should expect, English-trained men. John Cotton, Richard Mather, John Eliot, Thomas Welde, Henry Dunster, Charles Chauncy, and Samuel Whiting gained their knowledge of Hebrew at Oxford or Cambridge. Native Hebrew scholarship can be looked for only some time after the foundation of Harvard College, where Hebrew stood in the curriculum almost on the same level as Greek and Latin. And then it appears in the person of Michael Wigglesworth, Thomas Thacher, Judge Sewall, Increase and Cotton Mather. But it must be confessed that the Hebrew knowledge of the 77 ministers enumerated by Cotton Mather, who received their training in English universities, was greater in quantity and superior in quality to that of the 110 ministers of the latter half of the century listed by him who had graduated from Harvard College. It may well be doubted whether the men in New England in 1690, apart from Increase and Cotton Mather, would have been able to issue an original translation of the Book of Psalms, had one been called for, as had been done fifty years previously. The theologico-political and learned activities of the two Mathers, father and son,⁷⁰ throw a bright light over the period which must not blind us to the failing light in other learned circles. In fact, when proportionately valued, it casts into strong relief the unilluminating nature of the learning of their contemporaries.

This again is a result that we would anticipate, when we remember the pioneer nature of the struggling colony, the lack of incentives to Hebrew scholarship, the remoteness from the

Hebrician & Orientalist. He had more know. of the Arabic than I believe any man ever in N. England before him, except President Chauncy and his Disciple the first Mr. Thatcher."

⁷⁰ It must not be forgotten that Increase Mather received part of his training in Europe.

world of learning and the sudden check given to the immigration of university-trained Puritan clergymen into New England by the triumph of Puritanism in England under Cromwell. The inadequacy of the local printing press must also not be overlooked. Many of the evidences of Hebrew learning that were to be found, and in some cases are still to be found in the MSS. of the time, would be suppressed by the Cambridge Press printer, whose font of Hebrew type in the seventeenth century could never have been equal to the demands made on it by New England scholars of the type of Cotton Mather.⁷¹ In fact, most of their larger works, whether involving Hebrew type or not, were printed in London.

But above all, we must make allowance for the lack of books. Again and again in letters we come across utterances deploring the lack of books, followed by requests for gifts to the library of Harvard College. This we have met with in Dunster's letter to Ravius in 1648 and in Increase Mather's letter to Leusden forty years later. On December 13, 1672, Leonard Hoar, only a few weeks after his inauguration as president of Harvard College, wrote to Sir Robert Boyle as follows:

If I durst, I would beg one of a sort of all your printed monuments, to enrich our library and encourage our attempts this

⁷¹ Even in modern times, the evidences of Hebrew scholarship that appear in MSS. are often unhesitatingly suppressed when the MSS. are published. Thus the copyist of the all important MS. of Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" writes (1855): "Everything has been copied except the Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures and a Collection of Hebrew Roots." (*Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series IV, Vol. III, p. x.) We have seen in the beginning of the paper how other examples of Bradford's Hebrew knowledge have been expunged by modern printers. This fact must be reckoned with in estimating the extent of Hebrew culture, as evidenced in the printed books of the time.

way. I know nothing so stunting our hopes and labours in this way, as that we want one of a sort of the books of the learned, that come forth daily in Europe, of whose very names we are therefore ignorant.⁷²

Lightfoot's library of *Orientalia*, bequeathed to the college in 1675, which was especially complete in Hebrew works, must have enriched the college library considerably; and as time went on, the college library of Hebraica must have become reasonably adequate. The public library of Boston also possessed at least one book of Jewish interest. For when this library was burnt in 1711, the Polyglot Bible was one of the valuable books lost in the fire.⁷³

But private possession of books in and on Hebrew seems to have been rare. Thomas Dudley (c. 1634-1655) bequeaths in his will his "Hebrew Lexicon y^t Paynin made."⁷⁴ The Pilgrim Father Brewster possessed, as we have seen, two Hebrew books, a Hebrew grammar and Buxtorf's "Lexicon," and Governor Bradford must have possessed at least a Hebrew Bible, and probably the inevitable Buxtorf's "Hebrew Lexicon." In an inventory made in 1700 of the books of Michael Perry, a book-seller in Boston, we find entered one Hebrew book—a small Hebrew Bible, valued at sixpence. A fact that is suggestive of the scarcity of books of Hebrew learning in New England, is that in the list of books belonging to Michael Wigglesworth, a man who had been tutor of Hebrew at Harvard College, we find only two entries of Hebrew books, namely Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar valued at one shilling and

⁷² Sibley, "Harvard Graduates," Vol. I, p. 590.

⁷³ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series VI, Vol. I, p. 422.

⁷⁴ Either the *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* of 1529 or a later edition; or the *Epitome* of the same work in 1570, or a later edition by Sanctus Pagninus. See Steinschneider, *Handbuch*, Nos. 1510 and 1511. (Steinschneider's remark that the first edition of the *Epitome*, 1570, seems to be unknown, was corrected by Porges, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1898, p. 568, in whose library there is a copy. A second copy is in my possession.)

a Hebrew Bible valued at six shillings. The Rev. Samuel Phillips (1625-1696), a graduate of Harvard in 1650, inherited his Hebrew books from the library of his father, the Rev. George Phillips of England.⁷⁵ Even in the orders given to London book-sellers by a wealthy man and Hebraist like Judge Sewall, we find hardly a book of Jewish interest specified, although we know that he possessed the indispensable Buxtorf's "Lexicon," before he gave it away to his cousin, Leusden's Hebrew Bible, and Lightfoot's works. The representation of Hebrew works in the library of the average graduate of Harvard College in this time, therefore, seems to have been limited to a copy of the Hebrew Bible, Buxtorf's "Lexicon," and Buxtorf's Grammar, and this minimum seems seldom to have been exceeded.

But already in 1675 the library of Increase Mather was large. On November 27th of that year, his house was burnt down, and in the fire he lost "not an Hundred Books from above a Thousand." The loss was made up, probably with additions, through the kindness of the widow of Dr. Leonard Hoar, president of Harvard College from 1672 to 1675; after Mather's fire, she gave him free choice to take what he would from the library of her deceased husband. Therefore Cotton Mather's library, partly inherited, partly collected by himself, we may suppose contained a representative sprinkling of works in or on Hebrew. Of this library, John Dunton, in "The Life and Errors of John Dunton," London, 1705, tells us

His library is very large and numerous, but had his books been fewer when he writ his history 'twould have pleased us better.

Cotton Mather himself describes his library already on October 20, 1683, as "exceeding any man's in the land."⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Sibley, "Harvard Graduates," Vol. I, p. 221.

⁷⁶ Cotton Mather's Diary, *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series II, Vol. XVII, p. 71.

In view of this almost complete lack of Hebrew and Rabbinic books in New England at this time, we are faced with the question as to the source of the knowledge of Hebrew and Rabbinic literature so frequently displayed in the writings of the period. The answer to this question is simple, but unfavorable to our estimate of the Hebrew learning of the New England divines. They derived their quotations from Hebrew and Rabbinic literature from the *Latin* works written by Christian European scholars on the Old Testament and on Hebrew literature. The astonishing familiarity with Rabbinic literature and the Hebrew Bible commentaries displayed by the Mathers, for instance, astounds us less when we realise that it in no wise represents immediate acquaintance with the Talmud, Midrash, and later Hebrew writings. This learning was derived entirely from secondary sources. For example, in Increase Mather's "Mystery of Israel's Salvation," the quotation of Hebrew words, and the references to the Talmud and Targum, to Abarbanel, Benjamin of Tudela, Ibn Ezra, Saadya, Kimchi, Rashi, and other mediaeval Hebrew writers, are all borrowed from the Latin works of Christian European scholars. We have only to remember the large number of original Christian Hebraists who sprang up after the Renaissance and who published the fruits of their learning freely, to understand how little originality can be credited to the paraded Rabbinic learning of the Mathers and their New England contemporaries. In the seventeenth century alone there were, in England, Lightfoot, Pococke, Selden, John Spencer, Hyde, Hody, Henry More, Archbishop Usher, Castell, and Samuel Clark, and, of lesser importance, Hugh Broughton, Thomas Smith, Ainsworth, Cartwright, Fuller, Guisius, Sheringham, Francis Taylor, Bernard, and Wheelocke; and this list takes no account of profound Hebrew scholars of the stamp of William Bedwell, Saravia, Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Kilbye, John King and Miles Smith, and the score of scholars associated with these men in the prepara-

tion of the Authorised Version of 1611. Germany, in the same century, claimed a large number of learned and original Christian Hebraists, the most notable of whom were the Buxtorfs, Eisenmenger, Wagenseil, Carpzov, Hottinger, Schudt, Breithaupt, the two Eberts, Baron Knorr von Rosenroth, Ravius, Gentius, Schickard, and Schwenter. Holland, too, at this time, boasted of an equally distinguished number of Christian Hebraists, chief among whom were Surenhuys, Vossius, Leusden, Drusius, Vitranga, L'Empereur, de Dieu, and Coccejus, the last of whom was of German birth. In Italy, Bartolucci was at work, and in France, Richard Simon and Bochart should be mentioned. As an indication of the extent to which Hebrew was studied at the time, it may be instanced that while we have here quoted only two French Hebraists of the first rank, Paulus Colomesius in his *Gallia Orientalis*, 1665, gives the biographies of 150 Christian Frenchmen and two Christian French women (Maria Molinaea and Anna Rohania) who were known as Hebraists. Not a few Christian women of the time were able to read Hebrew, and sometimes even to correspond in Hebrew. The best known of these are Queen Christina of Sweden, Anna Maria Schurmann, Dorothea Moore, Maria Dorothea, consort of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar; Maria Eleanora, wife of Charles Ludovic of the Palatinate, and the Princess Antonia of Wurtemberg."

In consideration of the ample evidence of the wide extent of Christian Hebrew learning in Europe in the seventeenth century, the large number of Latin works published by these scholars devoted to Rabbinic learning, the paucity of these works in the libraries of the New England scholars, the fact that some Hebrew knowledge was expected of every university-trained cleric of the time, our evaluation of the Hebrew knowledge of the New England divines must conclude

"Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, Vol. XX, p. 66 *et seq.*

that this learning was confined to familiarity with the Hebrew Old Testament. The New England scholars knew little or nothing of Rabbinic literature in the original. It is significant, too, that they did not produce a single book of Hebrew learning, with the possible exception of the "Bay Psalm Book." Moreover, if we may judge from slight indications, their acquaintance with the work of European Christian Hebraists in philology, archaeology, and exegesis was not as up to date as it would have been had they had the ready access to books so much desired by Leonard Hoar in his letter to Robert Boyle. For instance, in 1642 a thesis was offered at the closing exercises at Harvard College maintaining that the Hebrew vowels and consonants are of equal antiquity. Again, in 1678, Cotton Mather attempts to prove that Hebrew punctuation is of Divine origin, and in 1684 Gurdon Saltonstall maintained the same theme. Had Hebrew knowledge in Harvard College been more nearly abreast of the times, we should not hear of these men pleading a cause, which by their time was regarded by the best European scholars as lost. For, already in 1538 Elias Levita had proved that the Hebrew vowel points dated back only to about the fifth century of the Christian era; and this contention had been made known to the Christian world by Sebastian Münster in 1539, by Buxtorf in 1620, by Capellus in 1650, and by others. However, Levita's work was not quite unknown in New England; for, in Increase Mather's diary for 1675, we read under the date of the 21st of October:

A. M. read in Elias Levita. P. M. Read Buxtorf Lex. Thalmud.⁷⁸

Furthermore, Dunster's letter to Ravius cited early in this paper, does not reveal a high standard of knowledge of Hebrew phonetics, when all mitigating considerations have been adduced.

⁷⁸ "Diary of Increase Mather," ed. by Samuel A. Green, p. 21. The same: *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Series II, Vol. XIII, p. 356.

Although this conclusion, that the seventeenth century New England Hebrew scholarship has no original value, robs the whole subject of much of its importance, there are two further points revealed by the inquiry that are deserving of special mention. The theory that identified the Indians of America with the lost ten tribes of Israel produced on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean a shower of pamphlets and tracts, as has been pointed out. But the stimulus that this theory gave to the study of Hebrew has not been noticed. Scholars in Europe were daily expectant of hearing of the discovery of some Indians whose vernacular should contain elements recognisable as Hebrew. The letter of Dunster to Ravius indicates that Ravius wished to be invited over the ocean by Harvard College, in order to have the opportunity of acquainting himself personally with the Indian language. We may assume with great probability that Ravius, who wrote a comparative grammar of Semitic languages, cherished the hope of being able to discover Semitic elements in the Indian tongue. Eliot, again, was encouraged in his mission to the Indians and in his master work of translating the Bible into the Indian language, through the belief that the Indians were the outcast tribes of Israel. Leusden, we have seen, dedicated a Hebrew Psalm book to Eliot and the converted Indians, and another to Increase Mather and the converted Indians. In many ways, therefore, the Indian-Israel theory reacted directly and indirectly to stimulate Hebrew study.

Finally, this inquiry may help to show from a fresh point of view how deeply Hebraic was the Puritan colony in New England. The Old Testament spirit of the Puritan has repeatedly been demonstrated. But it has not been recognised to how great an extent this was a *Hebrew* Old Testament spirit. This fact is brought vividly before us by the love of the Hebrew Old Testament that we found in the Pilgrim Father, Governor Bradford. Indicative of this also is the curriculum at Harvard College with its emphasis on Hebrew,

and the daily readings in the College Hall from the Hebrew Bible. But perhaps the most striking and significant fact of all, although it is one of apparently minor importance, is the occurrence in the "Bay Psalm Book" of Hebrew words and letters. That an *original* translation of the book of Psalms should be practically the first product of the Massachusetts colonial printing press is alone an eloquent tribute to the Hebrew Old Testament spirit of the settlers. But the assertion may be hazarded, that in no other country in the world would conditions have made it possible for an experimental, infant press to print Hebrew words in Hebrew type in its first publication. Similarly, the apparently unnecessary citation of Hebrew, common in New England works of the seventeenth century, is to be explained, not so much through the desire of the authors to vaunt their learning, as by the Hebrew Old Testament atmosphere in which the colonists lived. The citation of Hebrew was unconsciously looked for, even by readers ignorant of the sacred tongue, as a cachet of the Hebrew Old Testament spirit.

The confession of faith assented to at the Synod of Boston on May 12, 1680, laid down the following dictum regarding the Bible:

The Old Testament in Hebrew (which was the native language of the people of God of old) and the New Testament in Greek (which at the time of writing of it was most generally known to the nations) being immediately inspired by God and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages are therefore authentical: so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have the right unto and interest in the scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar tongue of every nation in which they come⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *Magnalia*, v. i, §8.

It may be objected that this pronouncement, including the Greek New Testament with the Hebrew Old Testament, proves nothing for the Hebrew Old Testament character of the Puritan colony in New England. But when this standpoint, which regards the Hebrew Old Testament as the ultimate authority, and any translation as a concession to ignorance, is compared with the earlier attitude that regarded the Latin Vulgate as the supreme authority for the Old Testament, this article of faith bears eloquent and triumphant witness to the comparatively Hebraic character of the New England colony, which made possible and encouraged the labors of the many Christian Hebraists in New England in the seventeenth century.

THE JEWS OF VIRGINIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGH- TEENTH CENTURY.

BY LEON HÜHNER, A. M., LL. B.

Far from being new comers, Jews are found in smaller or greater numbers in all of the thirteen original colonies in the early days of colonial settlement. In some, like New York and Rhode Island, they appear in considerable numbers long before the close of the seventeenth century.¹ In Georgia they were among the earliest settlers,² and it is therefore not unreasonable to expect to find Jewish settlers even in the early days of the Old Dominion.

It is a curious fact that though the neighboring colonies of South Carolina and Georgia possessed a fair-sized Jewish community, long before the Revolutionary War, Virginia contained but very few of Jewish race until towards the close of the eighteenth century.

There are several reasons perhaps why colonial Virginia did not attract Jews as readily as did the neighboring colonies. The foremost of these, in all likelihood, was the fact that at no time prior to the Revolution did she possess a substantial merchant class, nor could she boast of large cities which might offer a field for commerce or mercantile enterprise. The Jew, through centuries of environment, is accustomed to the city rather than the country, and this is possibly the reason why Charleston in South Carolina, and even Savan-

¹ See Charles P. Daly, "Settlement of the Jews in North America," New York, 1893.

² Charles C. Jones in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, pp. 5-12; Leon Hühner in *ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 65-95.

nah in the more recently settled colony of Georgia, contained a considerable number of Jews at the outbreak of the War for Independence, while the entire colony of Virginia had but a few, scattered throughout its small towns and villages.

It must be confessed that the Jew has a peculiar aptitude for mercantile enterprise. Whether carrying on commerce on a large scale as at Newport or New York in colonial days,³ or as the small tradesman in less important communities, he generally appears in our early records primarily as the merchant, and in none of the thirteen colonies was the merchant class smaller or less influential than in colonial Virginia.

The greater portion of the early Virginia colonists belonged to the cavalier class in England. Many were the younger sons of English noblemen or country gentlemen, who were provided with some means and came to the New World to establish landed estates, similar to those held by their more prosperous kinsmen in the mother country. The aim of these settlers was not to establish cities or to engage in commerce, but rather to divide up the country into isolated domains, where the planter was supreme lord surrounded by his dependents. Accordingly we find that throughout the entire seventeenth century there were no such compact communities in Virginia as existed in other colonies; it is but natural therefore that the Jew would be out of place amid such conditions.

The situation in Virginia is nowhere brought out more clearly than in a recent work by Philip A. Bruce. He says:

The whole power of Virginia society, even in the times when universal suffrage prevailed, was directed by the landowners. That society was composed entirely of the landed proprietors and their dependents. There were neither towns nor cities, and consequently the number of persons following those special callings that thrive best in large and crowded communities, was too small

³ See M. J. Kohler in *ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 47-64; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Newport.

to be considerable from a social point of view. The public sentiment was exclusively the sentiment of men who, like the landowners of England, looked to agriculture for the income which went to the support of their families and whose only material interests were those associated directly with the soil.⁴

Further on Mr. Bruce states that

The life in early Virginia, owing to the entire absence of towns was even more rural in character than the life of rural England.⁵ Apart from the few individuals engaged in the professions, there were along economic lines only two divisions of the population, one of which was represented by the landowner and the other by the common laborer.⁶

There were minor reasons also why Jews did not come to Virginia in numbers until after the Revolution. Not the least of these lay in the fact that the colony had an established church.⁷ The population from the start was not a mixed one as in other colonies, but rather homogeneous. It consisted almost entirely of Englishmen taken from the most conservative ranks and staunch adherents of the Church of England. The early history of the colony is full of the struggles of the various dissenting sects, some of which from time to time succeeded in obtaining recognition.⁸ The colony was therefore far from inviting to Jewish settlers, both from a social and an economic point of view.

Despite all this, however, we find that Jews settled in Virginia at a very early date. Dr. Adler some time ago called

⁴ "Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," by Philip Alexander Bruce, late corresponding secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1907, p. 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁸ *Ibid.* Speaking of dissenters, Mr. Bruce says, "It is true that persecution of none of the various dissenting sects was ever carried to the same extreme in this colony as in the colonies of New England, but at no time previous to the Act of Toleration was Virginia a comfortable spot for such sects."

attention to the list of persons who went from Great Britain to the American plantations, 1600-1700. This was compiled from MSS. in the State Paper Department of the Public Record Office in London, and mentions among the inhabitants of Virginia in 1624-1625 Elias Legardo, aged 38, who arrived in the ship *Abigall* in 1621.⁹ Legardo was probably the earliest Jew to find his way into the Old Dominion.¹⁰ In 1624 appear also the names of Joseph Mosse and Rebecca Isaacke, but there is no evidence that they were Jews.¹¹

John Levy received a patent for 200 acres of land on the main branch of Powell's Creek, in James City County, as early as 1648.¹² About the middle of the seventeenth century mention is made of Albino Lupo, a Portuguese, whose brother is described as a merchant in London,¹³ and also another settler, Amaso de Tores, whom Mr. Bruce describes (I know not on what authority) as probably a Spanish Jew.¹⁴ In Lancaster County, Virginia, in 1652, mention is made of two residents named Silvedo and Manuel Rodriguez.¹⁵

At this period the Dutch of New Netherlands traded extensively with the Indians of Virginia,¹⁶ and it is but natural to find Jewish traders in this connection. In the records of New Amsterdam we find David Da Costa, a Jew, importing tobacco from Virginia as early as 1658.¹⁷

⁹ "The Original List of Persons who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700," edited by John Camden Hotten, London, 1874, p. 261.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* See also Cyrus Adler in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, pp. 105-108.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. X, p. 95 (1901-1902). I am indebted to Mr. Samuel Oppenheim for this reference.

¹³ Bruce, *supra*, p. 261.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Robert Beverly, "History of Virginia," 1722, p. 67.

¹⁷ See "Records of New Amsterdam," edited by B. Fernow, Vol. II, pp. 401-402. *Cp. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 18, p. 57.

In the York records of Virginia as early as 1658, mention is made of Seignior Moses Nehemiah in a judicial proceeding. The record states

In ye Difference between Mrs. Elizabeth Jones wife and attorney of Richard Jones, plaintiff and Seign'r Moses Nehemiah; the said Moses in Court tendering sixteen pounds Due to ye plttf by Bull in Gold and good pieces of Eight, itt is ye Court's opinion that ye same is good pay, & order that ye same discharged him from his Debt, etc.¹⁸

In 1658 letters of denization were issued to John Abraham, described as a Dutchman.¹⁹ In 1687 Robert Nathan, possibly a Jew, is mentioned as a member of the militia for Surry County.²⁰ In the letters of Governor Spotswood of Virginia, he mentions putting down an insurrection in Carolina in 1711, one of the leaders of which was a Colonel Levy.²¹

It is interesting to note that after the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, a company of secret Jews embarked thence for America. The captain of the vessel intended to land them on the Virginia coast, but adverse and violent winds led him to seek refuge in Narragansett Bay, and these Jews subsequently became some of the most enterprising merchants of Newport.²² Had they reached their original destination they might have influenced the future of that colony.

We meet with several Jewish names in Virginia about the period of the French and Indian War. In 1754 George Washington was sent forward to occupy the outposts on the Ohio. This was his first campaign. He defeated the French under Jamonville, and in July of that year had the skirmish at

¹⁸ See "York Records," January 24, 1658; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. I, p. 467.

¹⁹ See "Personal Names in Hening's Statutes at Large of Virginia" (Joseph C. Casey), New York, 1896, Vol. I, p. 499.

²⁰ "Virginia County Records," II, 101.

²¹ "Virginia Historical Collections," I, 102.

²² H. T. Tuckerman, "Graves at Newport," in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 372; Daly, *supra*, p. 80, note.

Great Meadows. The day following this engagement appears a list of the various companies of the Virginia Regiment under Colonel Washington. In this are Michael Franks of Captain Van Braam's Company,²³ and Jacob Myer of Captain Mercer's Company.²⁴ Both soldiers are repeatedly mentioned at this period.²⁵

Among the settlers in Albemarle County is Michael Israel, a Jew, who obtained a patent for eighty acres of land in 1757.²⁶ He was a Border-Ranger and a member of the militia of his county in 1758.²⁷ Solomon Israel, probably a brother, is mentioned by the historian of Albemarle as a Jewish landowner in 1764.²⁸ In 1758 Michael Israel appears in Hening's *Statutes* as one of the Border-Defenders who received compensation from the Colony of Virginia.²⁹ He is mentioned repeatedly as late as 1779, when he and his wife Sarah disposed of 300 acres of land at Mechum's River.³⁰ The historian also informs us that the Mountain Pass of Albemarle is still known as "Israel's Gap," though the family has entirely disappeared.³¹

There is another Jew associated with Washington's career during the French and Indian War, for, in the letters to Washington appears one from David Franks, of Philadelphia,

²³ "Virginia County Records," II, 113.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

²⁶ Rev. Edgar Woods, "Albemarle County in Virginia," 1901, pp. 359, 363.

²⁷ "Virginia County Records," II, 67. He saw actual service in protecting the frontier against the Indians. See Hening's *Statutes*, VII, 203; Woods, *supra*, p. 363.

²⁸ Woods, *supra*, p. 359. His daughter Eleanor married John Wood.

²⁹ "Personal Names in Hening's Statutes at Large" (Casey), *supra*, Vol. VII, p. 204. The compensation referred to was £4.

³⁰ Woods, *supra*, p. 359.

³¹ *Ibid.*

in June, 1758.³² After Braddock's defeat the duty of re-organizing the provincial troops fell to Washington, and he retained command to the close of the campaign of 1758. It appears that Franks furnished the military supplies for this Virginia expedition. It may be mentioned that his wealthier kinsman, Moses Franks, had supplied the King's troops during the French and Indian War in transactions involving vast sums of money.

The letter referred to is dated Philadelphia, June 27, 1758, and reads as follows:

I had pr Spore the please of a letter of 18th inst. with £. 196, 15. 2, Supposed to be from you, there being no name Sign'd. Inclos'd are the Rects you desire, separately. Shall be glad to hear the Pack Saddles are Right Sort, the Cost I sent in a Letter with them.

I wish you a Successful Campaign, & with great Respect, I am
Dear Sir,

Yr most Obedt Servt.,

DAVID FRANKS.

The receipts which follow are both made out to Colonel George Washington, and the campaign referred to, is the one which resulted in the capture of Fort Duquesne in November, 1758.³³

In connection with the early history of Masonry in Virginia, it appears that Hiezekiah Levy, possibly a Jew, was a member of Fredericksburg Lodge, No. 4, prior to 1771, of which George Washington was a member.^{33a}

The Jews, as a class, were devoted to the American cause from the outbreak of the Revolution until its successful ter-

³² See "Letters to Washington," edited by Stanislaus Murray Hamilton; published by The Society of the Colonial Dames of America, New York, 1899, Vol. II, p. 32. For this item I am indebted to Dr. Cyrus Adler.

³³ See "Letters to Washington," *supra*.

^{33a} Samuel Oppenheim in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, p. 58; S. J. Quinn, "Historical Sketch of Fredericksburg Lodge" (1890).

mination. In the annals of Virginia also, we meet with a number of Jewish names in this connection.

In the "Journal of the Committee of Safety of Virginia," dated Williamsburg, March 26, 1776, appears an order for a warrant to Michael Gratz, of Philadelphia, for £2800 for sundry goods purchased of him.³⁴

In April, 1776, the same *Journal* mentions the high price and great scarcity of woolens, and goes on to state that the committee

agree to take for the public, the woolens formerly offered by Messrs. Gratz and Foulke provided the same can be stopped at Fredericksburg.³⁵

In June, 1776, the Committee of Safety for Virginia issued an order upon the Delegate in Congress in favor of Michael Gratz for £708 and 78 dollars for "Sundry Broadcloaths" furnished the public.³⁶ In October, 1776, he is mentioned as purchaser of a ship, giving his bond for £152 in connection therewith.³⁷

It may not be amiss to mention here that Michael Gratz was one of the patriotic merchants who signed the Non-

³⁴ "Calendar of Virginia State Papers" (Richmond), Vol. VIII, p. 137.

³⁵ See "Journal of the Committee of Safety," April 6, 1776, in *ibid.*, p. 156.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

³⁷ See *Virginia Historical Magazine*, Vol. XVII, p. 378; "Virginia Legislative Papers," Sale of Vessels, 1776. Among the MSS. at the Lenox Library, New York, are several Gratz items relating to Virginia, to which Mr. Samuel Oppenheim has kindly called my attention. One is a letter from George Croghau, another from William Croghau, both written to Gratz during the Revolution. See Miscellaneous MSS., Box Cra-Cri. Another is an account rendered to Michael Gratz by Carter Braxton, signer of the Declaration of Independence for Virginia, during the year 1777, showing a balance due Gratz of about £1270. Several of the items are for merchandise, but two items are for Gratz's share in privateers in which he was interested with Braxton. See Miscellaneous MSS., Box Bra.

importation Agreement of 1765.³⁸ He was the father of the well known Rebecca Gratz.

During the Revolutionary War Michael Gratz removed to Virginia and took the oath of allegiance to that State. In fact when he returned to Philadelphia in 1783 he is described in Westcott's list as "late of Virginia."³⁹

The patriotic assistance given by another Jew, Haym Salomon, to the famous delegation from Virginia during the darkest hours of the Revolution, might also be mentioned here. Aside from Salomon's great services as the co-worker of Robert Morris, and in advancing large sums to the Revolutionary cause, he also has the credit of supplying pecuniary aid to Arthur Lee, Theodore Bland, Mercer and Randolph. Madison declares that when the

pecuniary resources of the members of Congress both public and private were cut off, recourse was had to Mr. Salomon for means to answer their current expenses and he was always found extending his friendly hand.⁴⁰

Madison also states that he never resorts to Salomon's generosity without great mortification, "as he obstinately rejects all recompense."⁴¹

Another Jewish merchant who seems to have advanced money to the State of Virginia during the Revolution was

³⁸ A facsimile of this document showing his signature may be seen at the Lenox Library, New York. (Emmet Collection, Stamp Act Congress, No. 230.)

³⁹ Thompson Westcott, "The Test Laws of Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1865. "Names of Persons who took the Oath of Allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania, 1777-1789."

⁴⁰ See Herbert B. Adams in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 9; Gilpin, "Madison Papers," I, 163, 176.

⁴¹ Gilpin, *ibid.*, pp. 178-179; for further details concerning Salomon's career, see Herbert B. Adams, *supra*, pp. 5-20; J. H. Hollander in *ibid.*, No. 3, pp. 7-11; Simon Wolf, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen" (1895).

Simon Nathan, Deputy Grand Inspector for North Carolina in Masonry, as early as 1781.⁴² After the Revolution he became a resident of New York.⁴³

It appears that in 1780 he held a draft issued and drawn by the Board of Trade of Virginia on Pinet de Costa, of Bordeaux. Virginia seems to have objected to the claim for some reason. The claim amounted to 15,000 livres and resulted in a famous lawsuit. In 1791 the claim is mentioned in a letter to Governor Randolph and in the state papers of Virginia.⁴⁴

More important even was a lawsuit which grew out of some transaction of Nathan's in importing goods from France for Virginia during the Revolution. The goods were probably intended for the Revolutionary army, and when Nathan could not obtain payment from Virginia he issued a foreign attachment against the commonwealth, and a quantity of clothing belonging to it, was attached in Philadelphia. The delegates in Congress from Virginia, conceiving this a violation of the law of nations, applied to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, by whom the sheriff was ordered to give up the goods. Nathan thereupon obtained an order directing the sheriff to show cause.

The hearing took place at the September Term, 1781, and attracted considerable attention because of the principle involved. It is mentioned in the writings of Jefferson and Madison, and seems to have worried many of the public men of the day.⁴⁵

⁴² Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse, "Freemasonry in Pennsylvania 1727-1907," Philadelphia, 1908, Vol. I, p. 425. *Cp. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, *passim*.

⁴³ See "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," V, 259.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ See "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Monticello Edition, Vol. XIX, p. 319.

The court finally decided that, though the several States which form our Federal Republic had by the confederation ceded many of their prerogatives to the United States, yet these voluntary engagements did not injure their independence of each other. Virginia was a sovereign State, and had as such the privileges of a sovereign to have its property exempted from judicial process in Pennsylvania.⁴⁶

During the Revolutionary War there appears a Virginian named Isaac Levy as one of the important factors in the development of the Illinois country and as a provisioner for the Virginia Revolutionary forces.⁴⁷

As early as September, 1779, Isaac Levy is described as a subject of the Republic of Virginia in the French collections of the Illinois State Historical Library.⁴⁸ The old record recites that he and his partners, Gratiot and La Croix, had gone to considerable expense in seeking to procure and collect a capital for trade with the savages, and

inasmuch as it will be in their power to furnish the states with provisions and other necessary things which are at present difficult to obtain, . . . and in order to empower them better to carry out their patriotic design

they are granted the exclusive power of trade and free traffic commencing at the village of Cahokia, from there ascending the Mississippi up to the mouth of the Illinois River.⁴⁹

Levy appears to have been a merchant, financier and physician at the same time. His financial transactions, which figure repeatedly in the French court records between 1779 and 1786, involve considerable sums.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See *Simon Nathan v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, in "Reports of Cases ruled and adjudged in Courts of Pennsylvania before and since the Revolution" (1 Dallas, 1806).

⁴⁷ "Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library," Vol. II, Virginia Series I, edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, Springfield, 1907, p. 463.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. cxlviii, 55, 99, 157, 177, 183, 205, 215, 219, 237, 257, 343, 463, 481; Vol. V, Virginia Series II, p. 8 (1777).

In April, 1781, he appears as one of the signers of a memorial of grievances to the State of Virginia, which sets forth that the petitioners have nourished and lodged its troops and had received payment with worthless money which was of no value to them.⁵¹ In 1782 he figures as plaintiff against one Buteau, suing for 400 livres for physician's services. The record of this suit is very amusing, and it is a pity that it was not brought to the attention of Washington Irving, as it might rank with the famous cause decided by Wouter Van Twiller.⁵² In 1785 Levy and a new partner, Tom Brady, received additional important trading privileges.⁵³

Somewhat later, in 1787, Myer Michaels figures in the Virginia papers in connection with the Illinois country.^{53a}

Among the patriot soldiers of Virginia appears Captain Jacob Cohen, who raised a company of cavalry in Cumberland County during the Revolutionary War.⁵⁴ His service was in the Virginia militia, and seems to have commenced at the very beginning of the struggle in 1776,⁵⁵ under Colonel Smith

⁵¹ "Collections," Alvord, *supra*, Vol. II, Virginia Series I, p. 481.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 113, 119. The defendant claimed that he was not entirely cured, whereupon the court decided "that plaintiff continue attending the defendant until he be cured, on condition that defendant act according to orders and does nothing that can counteract the medicines of plaintiff." Subsequently Dr. Levy complains that his patient has been disobeying orders, and the defendant explained that he had taken the sixty pills prescribed in two days instead of seven a day in order to be cured more speedily. The physician declared in court, however, that this was impossible "as the quantity would have killed him many times over." Plaintiff finally recovered judgment. ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

^{53a} He is also mentioned as a juror there. See *ibid.*, pp. 281, 283, 297.

⁵⁴ See Reports (House of Representatives), 27th Congress, 2d Session, No. 371, March 8, 1842. Also "Poole's Index to U. S. Government Publications."

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, House Reports, and testimony cited therein of John Winfre as to Cohen's service in 1776 and 1777, and of William Duval, a Continental officer in the Virginia Line.

in the State line. As captain of his troop he took part in the battle of Guilford Court House on March 15, 1781,⁵⁶ and with his cavalry joined Lafayette and Wayne, taking part in the battle of Jamestown on July 16, 1781.⁵⁷ He remained in the service until after the surrender of Cornwallis.⁵⁸ The evidence tends to show that he served in the brigade commanded by General Lawson.⁵⁹

The minutes of the proceedings of the court of Cumberland County, held April 20, 1782, show that eight shillings were allowed to John Woodson, keeper of a ferry on James River, for the ferriage on June 16, 1781, of sixteen men and horses, who are described as "light horse" of Cumberland militia, commanded by Captain Jacob Cohen, to join General Lawson.⁶⁰ It has been suggested also that he is identical with Jacob Cohen, who appears as a prisoner of the prison ship *Torbay* in Charlestown harbor on May 18, 1781, and who was exchanged shortly afterward.⁶¹

About 1839 his heirs petitioned Congress for a commutation of pay for Captain Cohen's services in the Revolution,⁶² and besides the testimony of numerous witnesses there was submitted to the committee of Congress a letter written by

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; testimony there cited of James Falwell and James Taylor, both of whom apparently took part in that battle.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Hall's report of Committee on Revolutionary Claims. *Ibid.*

⁶² See Ely's report, Reports (House of Representatives), 26th Congress, 1st Session, No. 233, March 5, 1840. When first submitted, the claim was rejected because Cohen's name could not be found in the records of the regular Continental army either in Washington or Richmond. The claim seems to have been resubmitted subsequently together with a mass of additional testimony. This resulted in an elaborate report reviewing the evidence, found in Reports of House of Representatives, 27th Congress, 2d Session, *supra*, The Committee on Revolutionary Claims found that Captain Cohen had served during the Revolutionary War, not in the regular Continental line, but as a captain of cavalry in the Virginia militia.

General Lafayette in Paris, 1833, in which he stated that he recalled the name of Jacob Cohen as an officer during the Revolution.⁶³ The claim was rejected by Congress, however, on the ground that Revolutionary claims of the character mentioned were allowed only to officers in the regular Continental line, and did not apply to services like those of Captain Cohen, which had been rendered in the State militia during the war.⁶⁴

Another Jew, Philip Moses Russell, a resident of Pennsylvania, enlisted at the very start of the war in the patriot army. In September, 1777, he appears as surgeon's mate to Surgeon Norman of the Second Virginia Regiment, and with the army endured the hardships at Valley Forge.^{64a}

In addition there appear several decidedly Jewish names among the soldiers of the Virginia line during the Revolution. Captain Isaac Israel appears in a list of officers,⁶⁵ while

⁶³ See Reports (House of Representatives), (27th Congress, 2nd Session), No. 371.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Much testimony had been taken from 1830 on. The witnesses were James Faris, William Walker, John Holt, John Winfre, Rice D. Montague, James Falwell, James Taylor, Reuben Puryear, John Boatright and William Duval. All of them gave testimony in favor of the claim. The argument was made that even admitting the service of Captain Cohen to have been in the militia, the fact remained that the militia was then employed in the Continental and not in the State service. The committee replied that such was the case with all the militia called out during the invasion, but that the law under which it acted drew a distinction between service in the Continental line and in the militia.

^{64a} See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution." Russell was one of the original members of the Philadelphia Mikve Israel Congregation in 1782. See Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia," where a sketch of his career is given.

⁶⁵ He belonged to the Israel family of Albemarle County, heretofore mentioned. See Rev. Edgar Woods, "Albemarle County in Virginia," p. 368. As to his record, see F. B. Heitman, "His-

the following are mentioned as soldiers: Edward Absolom,⁶⁶ Andrew Moses, Moses Franks,⁶⁷ Francis Goldman, Joseph Hart, Benjamin Jacobs, John Isaac, Juda Levi, Ezekiel Moses, Samuel Myers, Levin Philips, George Solomon, David Stern,⁶⁸ Lewis Steinberger and Henry Samuel.⁶⁹ How many of these can be identified as Jews must be left to local investigation.

Joseph Darmstadt, a Jew who had come over with the Hessians and served as a soldier under the British, settled at Richmond after the Revolution and established a business in country produce.⁷⁰ As the valley beyond the Blue Ridge was settled by Germans, his knowledge of the language gave him a great advantage, and he soon became a prominent and highly esteemed citizen of Richmond.⁷¹

torical Register," Washington, 1893, p. 238. He is mentioned as lieutenant of 8th Virginia Regiment, February, 1776, 1st lieutenant, January, 1777; captain, November, 1777; transferred to 4th Virginia Regiment, September, 1778. See also Simon Wolf, *supra*, p. 50; *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. II, p. 245 (1895), where Captain Isaac Israel is mentioned in a list headed "George Washington, Commander-in-Chief." He is also mentioned as a German Virginian officer serving in Muelenberg's Regiment (8th Virginia) in the early part of the Revolution. See Herrmann Schuricht, "History of the German Element in Virginia," Baltimore, 1898, Vol. I, p. 128.

⁶⁶ See MSS. in the Gordon L. Ford Collection in the Lenox Library, New York: "A List of Soldiers of the Virginia Line on Continental Establishment, who have received Certificates for the balances of their full pay, agreeable to an Act of Assembly passed November Session, 1781."

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Date of settlement, October 30, 1783.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ All this group of names is taken from the list in the Ford Collection, *supra*.

⁷⁰ See Samuel Mordecai, "Virginia especially Richmond in By-gone Days," 2d ed., Richmond, 1860, p. 147. See also 1st ed., Richmond, 1856, pp. 110-111; Schuricht, *supra*, Vol. II, p. 25; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, *passim*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

The census of Virginia discloses the names of several Jewish residents in 1782-1783. Thus Isaiah Isaac is mentioned as a merchant of Richmond owning three lots of land in 1782. Prior to coming to Richmond he had been a resident of Albemarle County, Virginia;⁷² Jacob Cohen, aged 35, a resident of Richmond since 1780;⁷³ Jacob Mordecai, aged 20, a merchant residing in Richmond for three months;⁷⁴ Benjamin Aaron and Solomon Levy are mentioned as residents of Amherst County,⁷⁵ Jacob Cohen of Cumberland County,⁷⁶ Henry Franks of Richmond County,⁷⁷ David Wolf and Abm. Hendricks appear in Hampshire County in 1784,⁷⁸ Jacob Woolf in Monogalia County,⁷⁹ and John Levy and Solomon Levy in Warwick County.⁸⁰

⁷² See "First Census of the United States, 1790" (Virginia), Washington, 1908, p. 115. There is no doubt about his race, as he is mentioned in the records of the Congregation Shearith Israel of New York. In 1811 his daughter married Abraham Block, a resident of Virginia. The congregational record reads: "Miss Frances Isaacs daughter of the late Isaiah Isaacs, of Virginia (a native of the State of Virginia)." See also Woods, *supra*, pp. 359-360, where the following statement is made: "Isaiah Isaacs died in Charlottesville in 1806, leaving six children; Frances, Isaiah, Henrietta, David, Martha, and Hays. They for the most part removed to Richmond. David remained in Charlottesville." See also Markens, "Hebrews in America," p. 84. An Isaiah Isaacs is said to have been a soldier in South Carolina during the Revolutionary War. See Max J. Kohler in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 4, p. 96.

⁷³ "First Census," etc., *supra*, p. 115.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Date of arrival about 1782.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48. Date, 1783.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15. Date, 1782.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62. Date, 1783.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 71. Date, 1784.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Date, 1782.

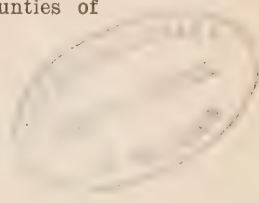
⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Jacob and Raphael were Jewish merchants at Charlottesville, and also had stores at Stony Point and Port Republic. See Woods, *supra*, p. 360.

According to a recent work on the German element in Virginia, there was quite a flourishing community of Sephardic Jews in the western part of Virginia even in the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the few years following a great number of Jews came into the Old Dominion from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and built their homes on the fertile lands near the Ohio River.⁸¹

Immediately following the Revolutionary War, Michael and Bernard Gratz were associated (apparently as partners) with Hon. James Wilson, Levi Hollingsworth and Charles Willing, all of Philadelphia, and the Hon. Dorsey Pentecost, in the ownership of a vast tract of 321,000 acres of land in Fayette and Montgomery Counties in Virginia. The land is described as being "just west of the Ohio River near the Tract owned by His Excellency General Washington."⁸²

⁸¹ Herrmann Schuricht, *supra*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96. On the other hand, the names of Joseph and Jacob Sadowsky (possibly Jewish) appear among the German Virginians who settled in Kentucky about 1773. See Schuricht, *supra*, Vol. I, p. 156.

⁸² The writer is indebted to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia, for the use of a copy of the original survey, dated Philadelphia, 1786. The original survey was made in 1784 and is dated January 11, 1785. Attached to it are two certificates, one by Charles Vancouver, land surveyor, verifying the field notes of Colonel Basil Prather, who had superintended the actual survey, and certifying that they agree "with the respective numbers of the particular patents granted in the name of Michael and Barnard Gratz at Richmond in Virginia." The other certificate is by Basil Prather, dated January 11, 1785, and certifies that he "had superintended the laying out and surveying for Hon. James Wilson, Esq., Counselor at Law of the City of Philadelphia, Levi Hollingsworth, Charles Willing, Esq., Michael Gratz, Barnard Gratz, merchants of Philadelphia and Hon. Dorsey Pentecost, Esq., of Washington County in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as a joint company and copartners, in the Spring and Summer of the year 1784, the quantity of 321000 Acres of Land, All situate in the Commonwealth of Virginia in Counties of



Among the early Jewish residents of Richmond shortly after the Revolution mention is made of Joseph Marx, described as "a merchant of German birth but of pure American feelings, a man of strictest probity who contributed liberally to the prosperity of the City";⁸³ Jacob Cohen and Samuel Myers, who resided in a pretentious house known as the Old Myers Mansion.⁸⁴ In 1786 the firm of Cohen & Isaac appears as a subscriber toward founding the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Richmond in that year.⁸⁵ Samuel Noah, who distinguished himself in the War of 1812, was born in Virginia in 1783.⁸⁶

Moses Simon appears as a wealthy Jew of Richmond in 1778.⁸⁷ In 1788 there was founded in Richmond the Amicable Society, with the benevolent object of relieving strangers and wayfarers in distress. Its founders numbered the foremost citizens of the town, and among them were Joseph Darmstadt, Samuel Myers, Joseph Marx, S. Jacobs and B. Brand.⁸⁸

Fayette and Montgomery, on Guyondott, Little and Big Sandy Rivers, emptying in the Ohio between the Great Kanhawe, Sandy and the Kentucky River," and that he had received 200 guineas for the work.

⁸³ Samuel Mordecai, *supra* (1860), pp. 51, 111. See *supra*, p. 11.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121. Cohen and his wife lived in Richmond during the Revolution.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205; Herbert B. Adams, "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," in *American Educational History Series*, No. 2, p. 22. Edmund Randolph had business relations with this firm. See Miscellaneous MSS., Box Ra-Ran, in Lenox Library, New York, to which Mr. Oppenheim has kindly called my attention.

⁸⁶ See Simon Wolf, *supra*, p. 46. He was graduated from West Point in 1806.

⁸⁷ See Lucien Moss in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 171.

⁸⁸ Samuel Mordecai, *supra*, 2d ed., pp. 255-256; Schuricht, *supra*, Vol. II, pp. 25, 26.

One of the foremost citizens of Norfolk was a Jewish banker named Moses Myers, who settled there in 1786.⁸⁹ He was a son of Hyan Myers, a native of Amsterdam, who resided in New York.⁹⁰ William S. Forrest, in his sketch of Norfolk, speaks of the old Virginia merchant who

possessed in an eminent degree what may be called the chivalry of the commercial character, and displayed in bearing a dignity and grace which looked infinitely beyond an ignoble rivalry and the tricks of trade . . . One may look even now in the Northern cities to find the counterpart of the counting rooms of Pennock and Myers, in the meridian of your commercial renown.⁹¹

When the Bank of Richmond was established in 1792 he was named in the act as its superintendent at Norfolk.⁹² It is also interesting to note that Moses Myers represented the French Republic at Norfolk at this critical time, and in the "Virginia State Papers," under date of March 23, 1794, is given in detail the protest of the commander of a French ship at Hampton Roads against an alleged breach of neutrality law by the American authorities in reference to an English vessel.⁹³ The mayor of Norfolk, giving an account of the trouble to the British representative, Sir Henry Knowles, writes

I was called on in the evening by Mr. Moses Myers, the French agent here.

He then gives an account of Mr. Myers' protest and of the mayor's explanation to Myers.⁹⁴ Channing mentions a Myers

⁸⁹ See "Eminent and Representative Men of Virginia and the District of Columbia," Madison, 1893, p. 523. Mr. Barton Myers was his great grandson. See *supra*, p. 17.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ William S. Forrest, "Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity," Philadelphia, 1853, p. 116.

⁹² "Acts of Virginia," December 23, 1792.

⁹³ "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," VII, 77.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

of Newport, "but now of Virginia," but I am unable to say whether this refers to the gentleman above mentioned.⁹⁵

Individual Jews appear also in other Virginia towns; thus Samuel Myers, a son-in-law of Moses M. Hays, of Boston, was a resident of Petersburg, Virginia, in 1796.^{95a}

A congregation was probably organized in Richmond shortly after the Revolutionary War. This is the congregation Beth Shalome. The service was that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, though many of the organizers were of German origin. Among its members in 1790 were Jacob Mordecai, Joseph Darmstadt, Isaac H. Judah, Samuel Alexander, Joseph Marx, Isaac Mordecai, Gershom Judah, Lyon Hart, Myer M. Cohen, Aaron Henry, Baruch Judah, Benjamin Wolfe, John Tobias, Jacob I. Cohen, Isaiah Isaac, Manuel Judah, Aaron N. Cardoza, Israel Cohen, David Isaac, Benjamin Solomon, Zalma Rehine, Mordecai M. Mordecai, Asher Marx, Benjamin Myers, Abraham Myers, Marcus Elcan, Mordecai Myers, Samuel Mordecai and Jacob I. Cohen, Jr.⁹⁶

The first place of worship was at the residence of one of the members on the west side of 19th Street, between Grace and Franklin. The next was a small brick building on 19th Street, in the rear of what was known as the Union Hotel. Here the congregation continued until 1817. The first burial ground was on Franklin Street. The land was the gift of Isaiah Isaac in 1791. It was deeded to Jacob I. Cohen, Israel

⁹⁵ George G. Channing, "Early Recollections of Newport, R. I.," Newport, 1868, p. 203.

^{95a} *Newport Mercury*, September, 1796.

⁹⁶ See Jacob Ezekiel in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 4, p. 21. It is interesting to note that nearly all those above mentioned appear subsequently as members of the Masonic Order in Virginia. See Samuel Oppenheim in *ibid.*, No. 19, pp. 58-74, where additional names of early Jewish Masons in Virginia are given.

I. Cohen, David Isaac, Moses Mordecai, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., Simon Gratz, Aaron Levy, Moses Jacob and Levi Myers as trustees.⁹⁷

Several of the founders of the congregation had been Revolutionary soldiers in other States. Thus Jacob I. Cohen, a German, who came to America in 1773, was one of the patriot soldiers of Charleston, South Carolina, serving under Moultrie and Lincoln.⁹⁸ Removing to Richmond in 1782 he became one of her prominent citizens, serving as a magistrate and member of the City Council.⁹⁹

In 1790 the congregation of Richmond joined with those of Philadelphia, New York and Charleston in an address of congratulation to President Washington. Both the address and Washington's reply have been published repeatedly.¹⁰⁰

In conclusion, it may be stated that this brief sketch is but an introduction to more elaborate investigation which it is hoped may be made by those who have access to original records in Virginia. The present writer is convinced that the statement so generally made, that investigation into pre-revolutionary history of Virginia is unproductive because of the destruction of the records during the Civil War, is to a very large degree without foundation. The unfortunate fact is that Virginia, like so many of the Southern States, has not published her records, and when she does, as Georgia and North Carolina are doing at present, there will be made accessible a wealth of material which will no doubt furnish considerable data for American Jewish history.

⁹⁷ Ezekiel in *ibid.*, No. 4, pp. 22, 24.

⁹⁸ Leon Hühner in *ibid.*, No. 12, p. 50; Gratz Mordecai in *ibid.*, No. 6, p. 41.

⁹⁹ See Markens, "The Hebrews in America," New York, 1888, pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁰ See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, pp. 92-94; *United States Gazette*, 1790.

JOSEPH SIMON COHEN.

BY CHARLES J. COHEN.

Joseph Simon Cohen was the son of Solomon Myers Cohen and Belle Simon, and was born in 1788, 1789 or 1790, the year being uncertain. His place of birth has also not been positively ascertained, but it was probably Lancaster, Pa., his uncle on his mother's side being Michael Gratz, of Lancaster, the father of the famous Rebecca Gratz, of Philadelphia, and of Hyman Gratz, a well-known citizen of Philadelphia, the founder of the Gratz College.

The Cohen family consisted of eight members, four sisters and four brothers, none of whom ever married. They lived at 1515 Spruce Street, Philadelphia. The subject of our sketch was particularly interested in the growth of flowers, and devoted much time to his garden, notable for its fig trees, the fruit of which he would distribute to his friends.

On May 24, 1813, Joseph Simon Cohen was admitted to the Bar, having read law in the office of Hon. John Sergeant, the most distinguished barrister of his day (whose daughter married General George Gordon Meade), subsequently practicing law on his own account. On December 16, 1840, he was appointed prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and occupied the position until 1853, his office being known as 7 State House Row, Chestnut Street above Fifth, adjoining Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

This building, however, is no longer in existence, the section having been restored to its original condition of the time of the Revolutionary War. During this time F. Gutekunst, of Philadelphia, was a clerk in the prothonotary's office, and then obtained an oil painting of Joseph Simon Cohen, which recently he presented to the writer. During the incumbency

of Joseph Simon Cohen as prothonotary, his brother Abraham, was bail commissioner, and his brother Eleazar, the search clerk of the court, and Mr. Gutekunst, at times when any of the brothers were incapacitated, substituted for them.

The family life of the Cohens was ideal; they were devoted to the care of each other, with which they permitted nothing to interfere. In later years, owing to unfortunate investments, they became greatly embarrassed financially, and were supported to a great extent by members of the community, who had known the family in its early days of success. Among those who were able to help was Abraham Hart, president of the Congregation Mikve Israel, who by word and deed cared for each member during those later days.

A special point of interest for the writer is in the circumstance of the naturalization of his father, the late Henry Cohen, born in London, a British subject, who was naturalized in 1843 in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; in addition to his father's signature on the naturalization certificate appear that of the prothonotary, Joseph Simon Cohen, and that of his father's voucher, the late Abraham L. Hart, also a *Cohen*. Thus the paper bears the signatures of three *Cohanims*, an instance it is believed to have been without precedent up to that time.

Joseph Simon Cohen died in Philadelphia, September 3, 1858.

A LIST OF JEWS MADE DENIZENS IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II AND JAMES II, 1661-1687.

CONTRIBUTED BY SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

The following list was copied from a rare volume in the British Museum, published anonymously in 1753 during the agitation for the removal of the disabilities to which the Jews were subject in England and the colonies. It is frequently referred to by writers treating of the English Jews but does not seem to have been reprinted. The author is now known to have been P. Carteret Webb who advocated the cause of the Jews. The list is of importance in connection with the history of the early settlement of the Jews in this country and the West Indies. The letters of denization were granted apparently to enable those named in them to reside in the colonies. For this reason we do not find many of the names in works treating of the Jews of England, though a few are noted there. Many appear in the incomplete records of Jamaica, Barbados, and other localities. References are here made in foot-notes to authorities giving the date of the appearance of some of the names in the colonies, with place of location.

The title of the volume, with the list, is as follows :

THE QUESTION, WHETHER A JEW, born within the *British* Dominions, was before the making the late Act of Parliament, a Person capable, by Law, to purchase and hold Lands to him, and his Heirs.

Fairly STATED and CONSIDERED

By a GENTLEMAN of LINCOLN'S INN.
LONDON. 1753.

[P. CARTERET WEBB.]

APPENDIX.

P. 17. A List of Jews, made Denizens in the Reigns of King Charles the 2nd, and James the 2nd.

Anno 13 *Car.* 2. [1661]

Abraham Cohan Labatto

Aaron Navarro¹

Samuel Daveiga

David Gabay

David Raphael deMercade²Aaron de Silva³Antonio Rodriguez Rezio⁴Luis Dias Gutturres⁵

Petrus Coen senior

Petrus Coen junior

Emanuel DeFonseca Meza

14 *Car.* 2. [1662]

Moses Israel Pachoe

[Probably Pacheco]

David Israel⁶

Isaac Henriquez

Joseph Bueno

Daniel Bueno Enriques⁷

David DeCosta

Moses Hamos Gayo⁸Jeronimo Rodriguez Rezio⁹15 *Car.* 2. [1663]Solomon Cardoza¹⁰

Abraham Rodriguez

16 *Car.* 2. [1664]

Johannes Martins Gommess

Ishac Serrano

David Baruh Lousada¹¹

Moses Hengas Enriques

Benjamin Bueno

18 *Car.* 2. [1666]Isaac Pereira Coutinho¹²

¹ See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 1, p. 105; No. 19, p. 174. In Barbados, 1680.

² *Id.*, No. 18, pp. 17, 148. In Barbados, 1655. Died in Barbados, 1685.

³ *Id.*, No. 6, pp. 17, 19, 27. In Surinam, 1675-1676.

⁴ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 131, in Barbados, 1669; *Id.*, No. 1, p. 106, as Antonio Rodrigus, in Barbados, 1680.

⁵ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 131; *Id.*, No. 19, p. 113; *Id.*, No. 1, p. 105. Probably same as Lewis Dias there noted in Barbados, in 1666, 1669, and 1680.

⁶ *Id.*, No. 1, p. 106; No. 19, p. 175. In Barbados, 1680.

⁷ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 65. In Barbados, 1661, as Henriques.

⁸ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 148. Probably same as James Gayo, in Barbados, 1662-1663.

⁹ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 148, in Barbados, 1662-3; *Id.*, No. 19, p. 173, as Jeronimo Roderegos, in Barbados, 1666.

¹⁰ *Id.*, No. 1, p. 106, in Barbados, 1680, as Cordoza.

¹¹ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 131, Barbados, 1669, as David Baruch Louzado.

¹² *Id.*, No. 19, p. 174, as Isaac Pereira Centinjo. In Barbados, 1680. Probably same as Isaac Jeraio Couthino in Barbados, 1669, *Id.*, No. 18, p. 131.

List of Jews Made Denizens, 1661-1687—Oppenheim. 111

19 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1667]	24 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1672]
Abraham Jaques Gabay	Abraham Barah Lazenda ²²
Abraham Levi ¹³	Mosseh Yesurun Cardozo ²³
Joseph Mendez	Jeremiah Gohory
David Lopez	Diego de Medina
20 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1668]	Antonio Gomez Serra ²⁴
Abraham Gomez Henriquez	Francisco deLix
Solomon Gabay Faro ¹⁴	Jeronimo Fernandes de
David Gomez Henriquez ¹⁵	Miranda
Manuell Raell Dias	26 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1674]
Abraham Pereira ¹⁶	Martin Flores
21 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1669]	Petro Abrams
Jacob Bueno	27 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1675]
22 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1670]	Antonius Lausada
Abraham de Souza Mendes ¹⁷	Gomez Rodriguez
23 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1671]	Domingo de la Cerda
Moseh Peyreyra ¹⁸	Antonio Rodriguez Robles
Abraham Espinosa ¹⁹	Domingo Francia
Jacob de Torres ²⁰	Aaron Baron Lauzada ²⁵
Joseph Senior ²¹	Alvaro de Fonseca
	Franciscus de Paiva

¹³ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 131. Probably same as Abraham Levi Regio or Rizio, in Barbados, 1669.

¹⁴ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 71. In Jamaica, 1668.

¹⁵ *Id.* In Jamaica, 1668.

¹⁶ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 131. In Barbados, 1669.

¹⁷ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 50, in Jamaica, 1670; *Id.*, 19, p. 175, in Barbados, 1680; *Id.*, No. 6, p. 104, as Abraham Desosa Mendes, in New York, in 1683.

¹⁸ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 95. In Barbados, 1671.

¹⁹ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 71. In Jamaica, 1671.

²⁰ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 51. In Jamaica, 1671.

²¹ *Id.*, No. 1, p. 106. In Barbados, 1680.

²² Louzado.

²³ *Id.*, No. 5, p. 88, in Jamaica, 1693; *Id.*, No. 18, p. 152, in Jamaica, 1707-1708.

²⁴ *Id.*, No. 2, p. 170. In Jamaica, 1702-3.

²⁵ *Id.*, No. 18, p. 183; No. 19, p. 174. Probably same as Aaron Baruch Louzado and Aron Baruk Loisado (in Barbados, 1680).

28 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1676]	Jacob Bueno Henriques junior
Petrus Henriques	Joshua Bueno Henriques
Petrus Henriques senior	John Mendez de Costa
29 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1677]	Abraham Duens Henriques
James Mazahad	Francisco Francia
30 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1678]	Ferdinando Mendez
Ralph de Mercado	Abraham Baruh Henriques
31 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1679]	Aaron Pereira
Lopez Pereira	Alphonso Rodriguez
Andrew Alvareo Noguera	4 <i>Jac.</i> 2. [1688]
Rowland Gideon	Franciscus Bernall
34 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1682]	Antonius Rodrigues Marques ²⁷
Solomon Mendez Sereno	Manuel Lopez Pereyra
Jacob Vas Martines	Nunes Fernandes
36 <i>Car.</i> 2. [1684]	Franciscus Gomez
Anthוניus da Costa	Luys de Andrade
Samuel de Paz	Joseph Nunes da Costa
1 <i>Jac.</i> 2. [1685]	Petrus Henriquez
Abrahamus Nunez	Pierre Henriquez
3 <i>Jac.</i> 2. [1687]	Phineas Gomez Serra
Manuel Henriques	Antonius da Costa
Menasses Mendez	Petrus Francia
Andrew Lopez ²⁸	Benjamin Levy
Abraham de Mercado	Solomon Levy
Jacob Franco Nunes	Abraham de Paiva
	4 <i>Jac.</i> 2. [1688]
	Abraham Coen
	Abraham Gideon
	Sampson Gideon

H. S. Q. Henriques,²⁸ in referring to this list, says it is by no means complete. He adds, in a foot-note:

The lists of foreign Protestants and aliens resident in England published by the Camden Society in 1862 contains at p. 42 the following document: "Denization to severall persons [among them

²⁸ *Id.*, No. 2, p. 170. In Jamaica, 1702-3.

²⁷ Probably Anthony Rodrigues, in Barbados, 1680; *Id.*, No. 1, p. 106.

²⁸ "The Jews and the English Law," London, 1908, p. 236.

are some Jews of note]. Our will and pleasure is that you prepare a Bill for our Royall Signature to passe our Great Seale for the makinge the persons hereafter named, being Aliens borne, free Denizens of this our Kingdome, viz.”: then follow the names of a great number of persons, including a number of Jews, seven of whom are included in Webb’s list, but others not found in that list are Isaac Abraham, James Baruch Louzada, Philipp Martines, Jone Mathias, Judith his wife, and Isaac their son, Judith and Frances Meres, and Samuel Sasportas. The document continues: “And that they have and enjoy all priviledges and immunityes as other free Denizens do, provided they and every of them do live and continue with their families in this our Kingdome of England or elsewhere within our dominions, and this sayd Denization to be forthwith passed under our great seale, without any Fees or other charges whatsoever to be payd by the sayd persons in the passing thereof. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 16 of December 1687. To our Attorney or Solliscitor Generall.”²⁹

²⁹ The “Camden Society Publications,” *supra*, p. xxvi, describes James or Jacob Baruch Lousada as the son of Emanuel Baruch Lousada, of Jamaica, marrying Abigail, daughter of Isaac Lamego, of Jamaica, and dying in London, October, 1753.

FRANCISCO DE FARIA, AN AMERICAN JEW, AND THE POPISH PLOT.

BY LEE M. FRIEDMAN, A. B., LL. B.

By 1680 the intense panic of the English public over the discovery of the Popish Plot was beginning to blow over. The awful disclosures of Titus Oates, Dr. Tonge and Captain Bedloe had lost their novelty. While the Catholics continued in great popular disfavor there was by this time a growing minority who were disposed to question the highly colored tales of the informers. Still it suited the schemes of the leaders of the Whig party to keep Parliament and the country at large firm in an overwhelming conviction of imminent disaster to the State from Catholic machinations.

The success of Titus Oates as an informer had produced a score of imitators. The rôle of informer had become both honorable and lucrative. In 1680 any man with a highly spiced story of disclosure of the "horrid Plot" was still sure of an eager audience ready to accept any such tale without too much questioning. The leaders in Parliament were more anxious than ever to publish corroborating and cumulative proof of the continued plotting and activity of the Jesuits and other Catholics against Protestant England. They offered every chance to informers to come forward. Fanatics, adventurers, professional witnesses, and honest men to whom "trifles light as air" were to their suspicions "confirmations strong as proofs of holy writ," were not slow to grasp such a golden opportunity for fame and profit.

On October 26, 1680, the Earl of Clarendon in behalf of the committee appointed for "Examining the Discovery of the Late Horrible Plot & Conspiracy" reported to the House of

Lords that the committee had recently had before it one Francisco de Faria, "a stranger," who had made a material discovery of the plot, and that

The Committee are of opinion that the House be moved that some cause may be taken to secure him from danger & that he may relate to this House what he hath discovered to the Committee.

Francisco de Faria claimed that he was a Jew, and the son of John de Faria, whom he describes as a gentleman of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. He said he was born in "America," and had been a "limner"—artist—in Antwerp; in 1675 he became a Roman Catholic; he then entered the army of the Prince of Orange as a "Captain Lieutenant" under a Colonel Montgomery; thereafter he came to England, and in 1678 entered the service of Gasper Abrew de Freitas,¹ the Portuguese ambassador to England, as interpreter.

The name of de Faria was not unknown in London at this period.² Several of this name seem to have been attached to the household of Queen Catherine following in her suite from Portugal. In one of her letters³ she describes Timotheo de Faria as having been brought by her from Xabregas "where he lived with that great repute which his voice deserved." She adds:

He has not been able to preserve it here, from want of exercise and the severity of the climate. Although he is not so great a musician, he is a very good servant, and a true Portuguese, not being happy in anything while he is away from his country, although he remembers nothing of it, because he left it when

¹ Also written Jaspar Abrude de Frittos.

² The name of "Senhor Dictor Abraham Ferrar" appears as one of the six Parnassim of the Synagogue to whom is dedicated the address of Menasseh Ben Israel in 1642 on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Orange and Queen Henrietta Maria of England to the Talmud Torah Synagogue. "A Letter of Menasseh Ben Israel," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Vol. V, p. 175.

³ Egerton 1, 534; Letter 81.

he was so little, and as he was so much younger than myself, I specially took him under my protection.

An Antonio Ferreira served Her Majesty as physician while his brother Francisco was her chamberlain.⁴

There is nothing to identify our Francisco de Faria with Her Majesty's chamberlain, but it is not unlikely that he was connected with that family. Luttrell describes him as "a Portugeeze."⁵ As is well known many Jews had settled at this time in the Portuguese colonies in America. So that it is most likely that de Faria was born in some Portuguese-American settlement, most likely Brazil, with which country the right of trade had been granted the English in 1661 as part of the marriage portion of Queen Catherine.

Upon the report of the Earl of Clarendon the House of Lords decided to hear what Francisco de Faria had to say. De Faria was then called in, and "sworn upon the Book of Deuteronomy, in regard he was a Jew born," and gave what the records called "a large narrative." Thereupon he was directed "for the better method and more certainty of what he had said to put the same in writing." Whereupon the House of Lords passed the following:

Whereas Francisco de Faria hath upon his oath discovered to the House of Lords matters of very high consequence; the Dis-

⁴ See "The Jewry of the Restoration," by Lucien Wolf, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Vol. V, p. 22. They also are mentioned as Her Majesty's servants in the following record from the year 1664:

1664.

Apr. 11. *Bernard's Inn*

John Bennet, bailiff of Westminster to Williamson. Antonio Ferreira, justly examined by Sir John Baber was bailed in the mere word of his brother Francisco, through particular respect to the Queen, & to prevent this conception though that would not have been sufficient for an Englishman & the King's servant. Expected gratitude rather than complaint, & being solicitor in the matter is ready to attend. Cal. S. P. Dom., 1663-4, p. 552.

⁵ Luttrell's "Brief Relation," Vol. I, p. 57.

covery whereof may in all Probability very much endanger his person:

For the better Security of the said Francisco, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, do humbly pray His Majesty; "That He would be graciously pleased to give unto the said Francisco such convenient Weekly Allowance, for some Time, as may enable him to maintain himself with two Servants about him for his Defence and Safeguard"; and that the Lords with White Staves do present this Address to His Majesty.

Ordered, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That Mrs. Mary Seyer, and the Portuguees mentioned this Day in the Narrative made by Francisco de Faria at the Bar, be, and are hereby, required to attend this House To-morrow Morning, at Ten of the Clock; and hereof they may not fail.

On the following day, October 27, 1680, His Majesty, Charles II, sent word to the House of Lords through his Lord Chamberlain that Francisco de Faria would be granted "an allowance as is desired." It appears from the expense accounts of the King that de Faria was immediately given an allowance of 40s a week, which continued to be paid him until 1681, when it was reduced to 20s a week, and continued at that rate until July 6, 1682. A total of £68, a pretty considerable sum for those days, was paid him in all.

On October 28, 1680, Francisco de Faria again appeared before the House of Lords with his narrative in writing, which being sworn to again by him, is set forth in full on the *Journal of the House of Lords*.⁶ It is, omitting the autobiographical part, as follows:

And the said Ambassador (Gasper Abrew de Freitas), among other things, acquainted this Informant, that Don Francisco De Melos, the late Ambassador that died here, was much out of favour with the Prince of Portugal, for that he had indiscreetly pushed on the Promotion of the Catholic Religion before a due Time, and had caused several Popish Books to be Printed in English, which had given too great alarm; with many other things relating to the Popish Religion, which he greatly condemned him

⁶ "Journals of the House of Lords," vol. xiii, p. 625, *et seq.*

for. And the said Ambassador, to endear this Informant, did often give him Money, and entrusted him in Affairs of the greatest Moment, and carried this Informant with him to all or most of the great Ministers of State in England, using him for his Interpreter; and employed this Informant to resort to several Persons for an Account of the Orders and Passages in the King's Council; of all which the said Ambassador usually had an Account within an hour after the rising of the Council, or any Committees. And the said Ambassador, much about the time of the Trial of the Five Jesuits, expressing a great sorrow for the oppression of the Catholics, did wish that Oates and Bedloe were made away, And then commanded this Informant to go to Mass and Confession, and then told this Informant, that he might do the Catholic Cause great Service, and might make his own Fortune, if he would joint in destroying Oates and Bedloe, and that Fifty Thousand Reals d'Occio should be given for that Service; and that two sufficient Men should joint with this Informant for the killing of Oates and Bedloe. But the said Bedloe being about that time in Ireland, the said Murder was deferred; and a report being spread, that Bedloe was dead in Ireland, the said Lord Ambassador said to this Informant, What a Fool were you! Had you killed him, you had gained that Money which I promised. But afterwards understanding that Bedloe was not dead, the said Ambassador renewed his Solicitations to this Informant, to prosecute the Death of Oates and Bedloe; assuring this Informant, that he would make good his promise of the said Sum of Money to them which should kill them; That he would besides, pay this Informant's Debts, and take this Informant with him into Portugal. Upon which Discourse, this Informant took the boldness to tell the Ambassador, That the Death of Godfrey had done much hurt to the Catholic Interest; and he much feared, the Death of Oates and Bedloe would bring greater Hurt. To which the Ambassador replied, he feared not that; and if Oates and Bedloe and Shaftesbury, were out of the way, the Parliament may come when they please: Whereupon this Informant asked, How shall Shaftesbury be killed? He replied, Lord Shaftesbury goes often into the Country; and I know you are excellent at Hand Granadoes; You shall throw one of them into Shaftesbury's Coach, which will destroy all that are in the Coach upon the breaking, and you and your Companions shall also have Fire Arms to kill, if the other do not full Execution. And the Ambassador added, that he had provided Two other per-

sons, Men of Honour, to join with this Informant in that Service; but named them not, nor the Reward that was promised to be given for it; And then ordered this Informant to provide a Man, who could speak French and Dutch, to carry a Letter into Flanders. Whereupon this Informant applied himself to one Salter, who keeps a Sempsters' Shop in Drury Lane, to carry the Letter; Who saying he could not go, because he had Horses lame; which this Informant's Servant observing, said, "Sir, if you please, my Husband shall go." But this Informant refused him, as not speaking French, nor acquainted with the Country. And this Informant did (according to the Ambassador's Order) offer the said Salter Ten Pounds, to undertake the Journey, because he was acquainted with the Country, etc.

February last past, the said Ambassador left England, and returned to Portugal, leaving this Informant on a sudden with very little Money, after his many promises to take this Informant with him into Portugal, and to get the Prince to provide plentifully for him in Portugal. Upon which, this Informant, recollecting the said former passages, and fearing lest he should be accused, though innocent, went to his own Father, declaring the offers made to this Informant for the killing the Persons aforesaid But his Father and Mother advised him to throw Ashes upon it; for none that have discover'd are secure, because some are of one mind and some of another. And this Informant then left a Note with his Mother, signifying, "that if this Informant were killed, it must be by the Portugals; and he would lay his Death to them, because of the Passages aforesaid"; and did the like with Mrs. Mary Sears; who finding this Informant in a very disturbed condition, observing that in his Frenzy fits he spake of the Death of Oates, Bedlow, and Shaftsbury, so far prevailed with this Informant, when out of his Frenzy fits as to make him relate the whole Story to her, who then persuaded this Informant to keep all secret, lest he brought himself into Troubles. But this Informant hearing, about the 16th of April last, that a certain Gentleman of Note was wounded almost to Death, did recollect that one Wyard had tempted him to Bastinado such a kind of Person, which this Informant had before (videlicet).

In the Beginning of March, told unto the said Mrs. Mary Seares; for an account whereof, this Informant refers himself to his Information taken before Sir Phillip Mathews, a Copy whereof this Informant delivered this day to the said Committee of Lords: And this Informant did also repair about the First of

May last to the Earl of Clarendon, and in writing gave the said Earl under his hand a Paper containing the Matter about the wounding the said Gentleman; and hopes the said Earl will produce the said Paper, to which this Informant refers; To which this Informant added by word of Mouth, "That the Earl of Shaftsbury was in Danger of his Life"; to which Earl this Informant repaired, because he was going into Flanders, and fearing he might be accused for the wounding of the said Gentleman during his absence, That that Writing delivered to the Earl of Clarendon might clear his Innocency. And this Informant further saith, That the Lady of Abergavenny sent for this Informant into Lincolns-Inn Fields this last Summer was a twelvemonth; and then told this Informant, "the Lord Powis would speak with him in The Tower"; to which this Informant answered "he would"; but acquainting the said Ambassador therewith, his Excellency forbid him to go; wherewith this Informant also acquainted the said Earl of Clarendon, who seemed to know the Lady Abergavenny, saying, "She was his Neighbour." and he further saith, That a certain Person came to the Ambassador, and in this Informant's presence told the Ambassador, "That one Roberts, Porter to the Water Gate in Somerset House, was Apprehended," upon which this Informant observed the Ambassador to look very pale, and thereupon asked the Ambassador, "My Lord, Is he concerned in this Business with me?" To which the Ambassador replied, "He is a Man of Courage, and will undertake any Thing."

And in May last this Informant's Brother Abraham de Faria coming to London, this Informant told the Ambassador of it; Who asked "if he were a Catholick"; and being answered thereto; His Excellency asked, "If Whether he were a Man of Courage?" Whereto this Informant replied, "We are all well born and bred," And his Lordship replied, "I would have him in this Affair with us, were I sure of him"; and commanded this Informant to send him to him. And this Informant told his said Brother, that "the Ambassador would speak with him." But this Informant was not with him when he went to the Ambassador, nor knoweth what passed between them. And this Informant saith, That upon the Day of Sir George Wakeman's Trial, the Ambassador sent him in his Coach to wait upon the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, and sent up word by one of his Gentlemen, That one from the Portugal Ambassador would speak with him. The Servant brought answer, That he could

not see the Ambassador that day, because he should be engaged upon the Trial of Sir George Wakeman all the day. Which the Ambassador being acquainted with, his Lordship sent this Informant to hear the Trial. And this Informant stood by Sir George all the time; and gave him white Paper to write upon, and employed one Mr. Cooper, Scrivener in Drury Lane to take in Writing the Trial, and gave him Twenty Shillings for his Pains; which this Informant delivered to the Ambassador, who immediately sent it to the Queen then at Windsor; with which and a Letter this Informant should have gone to Winsdor, had he not been very weary. And that same Night this Informant was sent to Sir George Wakeman's in St. Martin's-Lane, to compliment him on the Ambassador's Part; but he was not then come to his Lodging in St. Martin's Lane. So this Informant went next morning, and found him in bed with his Wife, and (as this Informant was Commanded) told him from the Ambassador, that his Fortune and Estate was at his service, and so was his Prince's, and that the Prayers of the good Catholics have prevailed for your delivery; and we are all bound to Sir Phillip Lloyd for his Generosity to you at the Trial; and we are all bound to pray for him. Whereunto Sir George Wakeman replied, "If it had not been for him, I had not been saved; and so we are all bound to pray for him; And I pray return my Lord many thanks for his Offers; and he would wait on his Excellency, to give him Thanks for his Favours, that very Day, but that he must first go to Windsor, to wait on the Queen: but on Return would wait on his Excellency." And Sir George took this Informant by the hand, and said, "I am sorry, Mr. Faria, that I had not the Happiness to speak with you before; for I am informed what a Man you are, and that you would do great Service for the Catholicks. But, alas! 'tis now too late." Thence this Informant went again by Order to the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, to know when my Lord Ambassador should visit him. The Lord Scroggs answered, That "The Lord Ambassador would do him great Honour to visit him, but he was that Day to go out of Town by One of the Clock." Wherewith the Ambassador being acquainted he went about Twelve in his Sedan, with a Coach of State wherein this Informant was, to the Lord Scroggs in Chancery Lane. The Complement was in Portugese, and this Informant (Interpreted) to this Effect: My Lord, I come to Visit you as you are a Minister of State, and am sent as Ambassador from the Prince of Portugal to the King of Great Britain, and am directed to Visit

you, and am likewise to thank you for the Justice you have done Yesterday to Sir George Wakeman. To which the Lord Scroggs answered, I am placed to do Justice, and will not be curbed by the Vulgar; and so I thank your Prince, and yourself, for the great Honour you have done me.⁷

And this informant farther saith, That a Portugueze came to him when the Earl of Ossory was to go for Tangier, offering this Informant that he might go with the said Earl as his Interpreter, and should have Three Hundred Pounds Per Annum for his Pains. But this Informant, reflecting that the Sum offered was too big for that Service, believed this was a Snare to take away his Life. The same Portugueze offered him to go for Flanders, where Monsieur Fonsec might prefer him to the Prince of Parma; But he looked upon that as a Snare also, and therefore refused. And this Informant saith, That, about Six Months ago, he was assaulted by Two unknown Persons with their Swords drawn; but he happily escaped from them. And further saith not.

FRANCISCO DE FARIA.

After de Faria had finished his story the Earl of Shaftesbury reported from the committee for receiving informations for discovery of the horrid plot,

That there were some Persons came to them, and offered to prove that the Earl of Castlemain was a Romish Priest, and had officiated in that Capacity, and the Committee thought it fit they might be heard in the House.

⁷ "The Queen got a man of great quality to be sent over Ambassador from Portugal, not knowing how much she might stand in need of such a protection. He went next day with great state to thank Scroggs for his behaviour in this trial. If he meant well in this compliment, it was very unadvisedly done, for the Chief Justice was exposed to much censure by it, and therefore some thought it was a show of civility done on design to ruin him. For, how well pleased soever the Papists were with the success of this trial, and with Scroggs' management, yet they could not be supposed to be so satisfied with him, as to forgive his behaviour in the former trials, which had been very indecently partial and violent."—Burnet, "History of Own Times" (1753 ed.), Vol. II, pp. 262-3.

As one of his witnesses to prove this he called Francisco de Faria, who testified

That the Earl of Castlemain came to visit the Portugal Ambassador about One Month before he was put into the Tower, and spoke with the Ambassador in Italian, which the Ambassador understanding very well, he was not made Use of as Interpreter, but withdrew into a Room by the Gallery where they were. The Door being half open, he heard the Ambassador ask the Lord Castlemain, "How long it was since he said Mass?" The Lord Castlemain answered, "Not this fortnight." The Ambassador asked him, "Why?" The Lord Castlemain answered, "Because I have not a secure Place, where I dare trust myself." And after the Earl of Castlemain was gone, the Ambassador said to him, "Francis, you think you have done a great Matter to turn Catholic: There goes a Man (pointing after the Earl of Castlemain) that hath left all the World, to become a Jesuit." And he talking with Mr. Nathaniell Cox about the said Earl of Castlemain, Mr. Cox told him, "He was at Rome when the said Earl took Orders; and saw him take them there."

It then appeared that Mary Sears and Richard Salter, who had been mentioned by de Faria in his narrative, had come in answer to the order of the House of Lords, and they were called on to testify. Mary Sears, who kept the house where de Faria lodged, told how she had heard him talk in his sleep about the plot and the plans to murder Oates, Bedloe and Shaftesbury. She had advised him to keep still about what he knew. He had appeared to be in constant fear of danger to himself. He had told her of his attempt to see the Earl of Clarendon, and of his later actually seeing him. He told her of the attempts to get him to go abroad, and of his efforts to get Salter to act as messenger to deliver a letter in Flanders.

Richard Salter was then sworn, and told of this incident, and also that

he well remembers that he saw the said Mr. Faria in some kind of melancholy and frenzied fit, and threw himself upon the floor, about the month of March last past.

This closed de Faria's career before the House of Lords for the time being. Having evidently gone as far as he could there, de Faria transferred the scene of his activity to the House of Commons. On October 30, 1680, he appeared at the Bar of the House to "deliver his evidence," whereupon the three following votes were passed:

Resolved: Nemine Contradicente That this House will forthwith proceed to the full examination of the Popish Plot in order to bring the offenders to Justice.

Resolved: That a Committee be appointed to inspect the Journals of the Two last Parliaments, and make a Report to the House of their Proceedings relating to the Popish Plot.

Ordered: That Signor Francisco Ferria do put his Evidence this day given at the Bar; into writing, and do attend with the same on Monday next, at Ten of the clock in the morning.

On that day, November 1, 1680, de Faria presented his information to the House of Commons in writing. It was identical with that already delivered to the House of Lords with the addition of an affidavit containing a further incident. He said that about the end of March a Mr. Wyard had approached him at Will's Coffee House in Covent Garden, and asked him to go to a tavern for a glass of wine. They went from tavern to tavern until he was taken to Gray's Inn Walk. There he offered de Faria £200 to cudgel a man,

one hundred in hand, and the other hundred when the work or business is done. To which this Informant replied, That that might be done by a Porter for a Shilling. To which the said Wyard replied, "You may believe, by the Sum that is offered, that there is something more to be done besides Cudgelling. And when you have done, you shall have a better Reward."

When these "unworthy and base proposals" were rejected, Wyard wanted de Faria to go with him to the Tower and speak with Lord Powis. When he refused Wyard produced a mysterious letter which read:

Mr. de Faria, Come to me to the Tower, and speak with me: but let no body know who you are.

When de Faria persisted in his refusal, Wyard offered to produce a letter from "a person of Quality" if de Faria would meet him the next day. At that time he delivered a letter "writ in the Portugueze Language:"

Francis, Do what this man bids you; for it shall be well done.
Subscribed G. A. B.

De Faria still refused, but made an appointment for the next day. He tried to find out who Wyard was, and followed him "down Chancery-Lane, into Cursitors-Alley, and into several turnings" until he lost him. After that he was never able to get track of Wyard again.

He afterwards went to the Earl of Clarendon about May 1, 1680, with his information.

Evidently to enhance the value of the disclosures he had made, and give an idea of the great personal risks he ran in testifying, de Faria caused a complaint to be lodged that he was being abused for appearing before the House of Commons as an informer.

One Mr. Harnage, a linen draper at the Naked Boy in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, was accused of committing certain misdemeanors against the said Signor Francisco, being a witness produced and examined at the Bar of this House.

Promptly the House ordered its sergeant to take Harnage in custody.

The next day the House ordered that Mr. Harnage be brought to the Bar the following day at ten

to answer to the misdemeanors by him committed against Signor Francisco de Faria in Breach of the Privileges of this House; and that the said Signor Francisco do then likewise attend this House to maintain his charge.

They then proceeded to pass the further order that an humble address be made to his Majesty, by such Members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council to desire his Majesty That he would be pleased to grant his

Gracious Pardon to Mr. Dangerfeild; and that he would take Mr. Dangerfeild, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Prance, and Signor Francisco Ferria into his Royal Protection and Care.

Just at this time Shaftesbury and his party were staking their political fortunes on the passage of the "Exclusion Bill." The real purpose for the introduction before the House of Commons of de Faria and the story of his ill treatment may be gathered from the order of business of the day. Immediately following the hearing given de Faria the House was worked up to the pitch where the way was paved for the introduction of this all important measure. The four following votes were passed in succession:

Resolved: Nemine Contradicente That the Duke of York's being a Papist, and the Hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest Countenance and Encouragement to the present Designs and Conspiracies of the Papists against the King and Protestant Religion.

Resolved: Nemine Contradicente That in Defence of the King's Person and government and the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, That they will stand by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes: and that if his Majesty shall come by any violent Death, which God forbid!, that they will revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.

Resolved: That a Bill be brought in to disable the Duke of Yorke to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Relm.

Ordered: That a Committee be appointed to prepare and draw up such a Bill.

On November 4, 1680, the next day, the royal answer was received by the House in reply to its address asking the King to take de Faria into the Royal Protection and Care. It must have struck a chill to the growing hopes of de Faria. It was short and to the effect that

he hath an allowance already granted him at the request of the House of Lords.

The following week, November 11, 1680, the Exclusion Bill was passed, and on the same day Mr. Harnage was discharged

from the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms upon paying his fees.

Immediately thereafter they published under order of the House of Commons for public distribution the information which de Faria had disclosed.

The acquittal of Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, through the strong stand taken in that trial against Oates and Bedloe by Chief Justice Scroggs, awoke a storm of public resentment against him. The indiscretion of the Portuguese ambassador added to the agitation. It was common gossip that the chief justice had been bribed.⁸ Oates and Bedloe were not slow to take advantage of the situation to strike back at Scroggs and regain their prestige. They presented to the Privy Council articles against the chief justice. The House of Commons thereupon passed resolutions impeaching Scroggs, and the same were presented to the House of Lords January 7, 1681. Although the House of Lords refused to commit the chief justice upon this impeachment, he was ordered to recognize, to appear and answer in the proceedings. This he did immediately. Parliament was dissolved before further proceedings could be had. When a new Parliament met at Oxford on the following March 24, 1681, Scroggs filed his answer and asked for an immediate trial on the first day of the session.

But this Parliament being soon after prorogued this affair was dropped; however, it was thought proper to remove Scroggs from being Chief Justice; which was done with all the marks of favor and respect, being allowed a pension for life.

Amongst the papers which the chief justice had evidently prepared for use at his trial was a deposition of de Faria. The manuscript, hurriedly written on three folio pages, signed by de Faria, was placed on file and forgotten. It has the same characteristic excess or protestations of honesty, vague alle-

⁸ Verney MSS., 474; Luttrell's "Brief Relation," p. 17.

gations, and wealth of immaterial details that marks his previous testimony. It is printed for the first time in the appendix. With this de Faria's public career seems to have ended.

Looking back on de Faria and his story from the point of view of our day the marvel is that they could ever have been taken seriously. No one accustomed to weighing evidence can doubt that he was altogether bad and his story false. The wonder is that grave and learned statesmen should have been hoaxed by so inconsequential a tale as to give it grave consideration and devote to its author both the time and the money of the State. While astonishment remains at the expedients employed, still the explanation is probably that already suggested. In order to carry to a successful issue his struggle with the King over the succession of the Duke of York, it was necessary for Shaftesbury to keep the rank and file of his followers loyal and steadfast, and have the support of the country behind them. At the moment it seemed that this could only be done through keeping at an intense pitch the popular feeling against the Catholics through constant agitation and fresh discoveries, and so uniting the people into a single anti-Catholic party.

APPENDIX.

(Uncaledared State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, 415, f. 159.)

DEPOSITION OF FRANCISCO DE FARIA MARCH 24TH, 1681.

This informant said that about six weeks since Mr. Wm. Lewis told this informant in London that if this informant would be true to him he would get him to swear the carrying of £6000 to the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs from the Portugall Embassy for as much as this informant would swear how and by whom the money was paid, whereunto this informant replied he knew not of any such money paid or received as aforesaid: the said Lewis thereunto answered this informant was a fool: for if he would swear as aforesaid, he would get into the favour of the Commons and besides they would certainly get £100 for a narra-

tive thereof: and this informant further saith that the said Wm. Lewis frequently pressed this informant to the same purpose: and on the 16th day of March instant the said Wm. Lewis came to this informant and told this informant that his own brother Nathaniel Lewis (who had formerly been footman to this informant as he belonged to the Portugall Embassy) had this day sworn before the Recorder of London to the effect following that he went with one Marino, the Portugall Embassy steward to the house of the Marquess d'Arunzio and after half an hour stay there the said steward gave him the said Lewis a bag of money and took one himself being £100 bags and went thence with him in a coach to Judge Scroggs house in Chancery Lane and by the way he saw the said steward open one of the bags and take out a note or bill and that he cast his eyes into the same bag and saw gold and that both the said bags were left at Judge Scroggs house and after the said Wm. Lewis had related the same he pressed this informant to corroborate his said brother's testimony by swearing that he this informant was present at the said Marquess d'Arunzio's house at the time that the said steward and the said Lewis his brother carried from thence the two bags of money to which this informant replied: This that your brother hath sworn must be false for the said steward was at this time sick and had kept his bed for ten weeks at least never going out of his chamber and I for my part know it to be untrue and I have already declared all that I know about Judge Scroggs in my printed narration: to which the said Wm. Lewis replied what I advise you to swear will perfectly agree or not much disagree with your narrative in this particular for you have not there sworn that no money was carried to Scroggs and then amongst other persuading he said to this informant: you must needs swear this to be true and by your so doing we shall all become great favorites of the Commons and shall be certain of obtaining great rewards from the same: and for this informant's better instruction in the particulars aforesaid he the said Wm. Lewis then delivered to this informant a paper in his own hand writing containing the words following: I went with the Embassy secretary to the Marquess house where I had in a certain room a money bag full and went and took a coach and on my way I saw what was in the bag which appeared to be gold and we went to the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs house where we left the said bag to which effect he said his brother had sworn before Sir George Treby upon which this informant replied Mr. Lewis This that

your brother hath sworn will be easily disproved for the steward may be easily brought into England to disprove this: upon which the said Lewis replied Pooh! Pooh! he is beyond sea and no one will care to prove the untruth and this will serve the present opportunity therefore take no care but swear as I have directed you all this discourse on the said 16th instant was held at this informant's lodging at Mrs. Wagstaff's house in Drury Lane Mrs. Mary Seares overhearing the same and being ready to prove the same and this informant further saith that on the said 16th March just about three in the afternoon at the great importunity of the said Wm. Lewis this informant went with the said Wm. Lewis to the Earl of Shaftesbury's house and by the way the said Wm. Lewis told this informant he had acquainted the Earl of Shaftesbury with what his said brother had sworn before Sir George Treby about Scroggs and when this informant came into the presence of the said Earl he gave his lordship a short note to read touching a Portuguese which his lordship said this informant ought to make oath of before some justice of the peace and then told this informant this: You know more touching Scroggs than you have declared: thereunto this informant replied, As I am a sinner before God I know no more touching Scroggs than I have already declared and I neither have nor will stifle truth to which his lordship replied: I am sure you have been tampered with and I am sure Justice Warcup is a very knave and a rogue and a rascal we know very well what he is and there is a parliament coming and we will then take an order with him upon which this informant replied that he knew no more touching Scroggs than what was contained in the said narrative and that Justice Warcup had in no way tampered with him this informant but by all fair means persuaded this informant to speak the whole truth about Scroggs or any other person or matter within his knowledge and taken this information fully and fairly omitting nothing this informant declared, and so this informant took leave of his lordship and coming out with the said Lewis he said to this informant now you have the fairest opening in the world for you see my lord Shaftesbury is angry with justice Warcup and you may guess his meaning therefore swear that this justice did tamper with you and bid you not to declare that you had carried the money to Judge Scroggs and that you really did see this money that was carried to Justice Scroggs and that you knew he had it which will easily be credited at this time because you see that justice Warcup is hated and

out of favour and by this means Scroggs and he also will be punished: this informant then asked the said Lewis what punishment the said justice would come to thereby who answered a fine and to be put out from being a judge this being done the Commons would plentifully reward us and there will be money raised in the city of which you will not get two pence unless you swear against Scroggs because people say you came on purpose to save Scroggs and this informant did then reflect upon the expressions of the said Wm. Lewis and John Macknamarra to justice Warcup some few days before that he had carried himself uprightly and honestly in both their examinations and they much wondered how anybody could speak to his prejudice or censure his integrity and that his proceedings with them had been right fair and honest all which so much disturbed this informant's mind that to discharge his conscience and to make to appear his loyalty to his majesty he held himself in duty bound to come down to Oxford to declare unto his majesty for prevention of the like evil practices and to prove the truth of all that is herein set forth and he further saith that the said Wm. Lewis told this informant: You are a fool you see how I have done that have wrought my business so well as to get out of this place (pointing to his chamber where he had been a prisoner) here I might have rotted had I not worked my wits whereas now you see I have my liberty and money and shall be rewarded with two or three thousand pounds: laughing and deriding at his own service for the public adding that this is the time for a man to get money Do you think Mr. Faria that I believe what Dangerfield swore against the Duke of York of his giving him twenty guineas but I believe not a word of it some do their work one way and some another way and you see my way.

DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE THANKSGIVING
PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR HOYT,
OF PENNSYLVANIA (1880).

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM B. HACKENBURG.

The documents, printed herewith, speak for themselves, and need not be provided with any comment.

I.

A PROCLAMATION.

The President of the United States by proclamation has recommended the people to meet on Thursday, the 25th of November, instant, in their respective places of worship, to make acknowledgments to Almighty God for His bounties and His protection, and to offer Him prayers for their continuance.

To the dwellers in all the nation have been allotted "health, wealth and prosperity throughout all our borders; peace, honor and friendship with all the world; firm and faithful adherence by the great body of our population to the principles of liberty and justice which have made our greatness as a nation, and to the wise institutions and strong frame of government and society which will perpetuate it."

To the contented happy inhabitants of peaceful Pennsylvania have been accorded special grounds of thanksgiving. All our vast and varied industries have prospered, and the toiler has everywhere found adequate rewards for labor. It has been put into the hearts of the people to apprehend how society is a great unit in which the welfare of one is the welfare of all. Patience in trial, confidence one in another, courageous purposes of persistent industry, the recognition in all our traffic that we are children of a Common Father, have exalted the four millions of our own people into a wondrous illustration of the power of a free Christian Commonwealth.

Let us turn ourselves to a devout observance of the recommendation of the President.

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the State,
at Harrisburg, this eighth day of November, in the
(SEAL) year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and
eighty, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred
and fifth.

By the Governor:

HENRY M. HOYT.

M. S. QUAY,

Sec'y of the Commonwealth.

II.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 9th, 1880.

To his Excellency

Hon. Henry M. Hoyt, Governor State of Penna.

In your Thanksgiving Proclamation of 8th inst. you speak of causes which "have exalted four millions of our people into a wondrous illustration of the powers of a free Christian Commonwealth."

In common with my Jewish fellow citizens we feel aggrieved at this sectarian allusion to our great State. It is not my purpose to enter into any argument of the question, being loath to believe that you intended any slight to a large loyal and respectable portion of your constituency who have always united with the rest of the community in celebrating the National American Thanksgiving Day, and further believing that the injustice will be at once remedied upon your early attention being called thereto.

Very truly yours,

WM. B. HACKENBURG.

III.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

HARRISBURG, Nov. 10th, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of yesterday is before me. The copy of the Proclamation, telegraphed from here from the *original draft* was open to the criticism you justly make upon it. Before it was finally put in file, it was discovered that it might

be obnoxious in the respect you indicate: and as eventually promulgated, is in the form which I send herewith.

Of course, you will understand, that, by no possibility, could any *sectarian* bias have been intended: and the expression which you think limits the scope of the invitation was used in its modern secondary meaning: as frequently adopted in our "statutes," and "legal decisions," without the remotest idea of ecclesiastical purport.

As you say, the body of people for whom you speak is "too large loyal and respectable portion of society" to be omitted from an invitation to our "National American Festival": and I hope you fully understand, that in the hasty preparation of the Proclamation, no such omission was in the mind of the draughtsman or the authority here.

WM. B. HACKENBURG, Esq.,
20 North 3d St.,
Phila., Pa.

Very truly yours,
HENRY M. HOYT.

IV.

(Special Despatch to the *Evening Telegraph*.)

A CHANGE IN THE THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

HARRISBURG, Nov. 10th.—An important change has been made in the Thanksgiving proclamation. In the last paragraph the words "Christian Commonwealth" have been altered to read "a Commonweath of freeman (*sic*)."
This change has been made because of animadversions made by prominent Israelites. Governor Hoyt says he used the word "Christian" in the sense of "civilized," and not particularly in a religious sense.

A revised proclamation, conforming to the above, was thereafter issued.

RHODE ISLAND AND CONSANGUINEOUS JEWISH MARRIAGES.

BY BENJAMIN H. HARTOGENSIS, A. B.

Statutes of law making exceptions for Jews have, in the past, not been unusual in the several colonies and the United States; they either conferred rights of denization during residence, or of naturalization, or set aside the usual requirement in taking the oath of office, to do so on the faith of a Christian, or see to it that religious scruples as to Sabbath observance may not prejudice the economic condition of Jews, or that marriages as solemnized according to Jewish forms and ceremonies, shall be as binding as if actually celebrated *in facie ecclesiae*, in the face of the church. A further exception in no wise affects the rights of citizenship, or of office-holding, nor puts Jews under disabilities or restrictions, nor hampers them in the pursuit of their trades and business. The restriction, to which I shall now refer, is on marriage within certain degrees of consanguinity or affinity by marriage, and I shall give the history of the Rhode Island legislation in this regard.

Physiologists have proved that marriage between next of kin produces weak and degenerate offspring; furthermore it is abhorrent to the ideas of civilized people. The difficulty is to find the point in the nearness of relationship, which constitutes a disqualification to marriage, and where it should be drawn. Here the Mosaic law as laid down in Leviticus xviii, 6, finds full approbation in modern science and has been established in our social scheme; so that most codes of law have adopted in some form this table of Levitical degrees as a whole, generally giving due credit therefor; and some have gone further, prohibiting not only marriages like those expressly forbidden, *e. g.*, not only to a granddaughter as mentioned therein, but also to a daughter, not

expressly forbidden; and further to a deceased wife's sister, and of cousins, these last not included in the Mosaic table.

Although the Mosaic law forbids the marriage of nephew and aunt, as appears in Leviticus xviii, 12-14; xx, 19-20, the Talmud not only permitted, but even recommended¹ the marriage between uncle and niece. There is but one Biblical instance; Othniel, brother of Caleb, married his niece Achsah (Joshua xv, 17).

And as a result such marriages are occasionally celebrated even here in America, despite the fact that they are all but universally prohibited with severe penalties. There seems to be a general impression among well informed people that these avuncular marriages were, in the past, generally allowed by American law, whereas just the contrary was true. Moreover there was a reason for this misunderstanding. Thus a decision by the City Court of New York, May, 1885,² held that an uncle may lawfully marry his niece; and the reporter states in a footnote that in some of the states such marriages are void. The prohibition was put in the law of New York in 1893;³ in Maryland, in 1860, such marriages previously had were confirmed, and a similar act of confirmation was passed in Louisiana in 1904, while in Florida the prohibition was not codified until 1892. It was not expressly prohibited in South Carolina before the code of 1871, and such a marriage was expressly confirmed there by a decision in 1858.⁴

¹ Mielziner, "Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce," p. 39.

² Matter of Williams, 2 City Court Reports, 143; see Albert M. Friedenberg in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12, p. 96.

³ Laws of New York, 1893, c. 601. This act makes such a marriage incestuous and void. *Weisberg v. Weisberg*, 112 App. Div. (N. Y.) 231, held that such a marriage to one's niece, before this act of 1893, would not be annulled, as the act has no retroactive effect. See Friedenberg in *Publications*, No. 19, p. 169 *et seq.*

⁴ *Bowers v. Bowers*, 10 Richardson's Equity (South Carolina), 551.

Laxity in enforcement of the law may have arisen because marriages within the prohibited degrees were voidable by the common law of England and only made void *ab initio* by an act of Parliament passed too late⁵ to become part of the American common law. Moreover in many states, *e. g.*, Maryland, while the statute makes such marriages void, the courts have said that they are merely voidable,⁶ and the marriage to one's niece, not being a heinous offense, it has never been thought worth the while of the public prosecutor to enforce the penalty. So the people have thought there was none. Marriages in direct lineal line of consanguinity are not unlawful by the law of the land, and in the absence of express prohibitions in the statute, a marriage is not void for consanguinity, there being no canonical disabilities in the United States.⁷

But everywhere now the law expressly forbids such marriages. A matter for surprise is that Rhode Island has allowed special privileges to its Quakers and Jews. This began with the act of Assembly, passed June, 1764, and makes the unique exception as to all kinds of intermarriage otherwise prohibited, in favor of such as are in accordance with Jewish belief and practices. This has been continued in the codes of Rhode Island from 1798 down to the present one, enacted in 1909. In the section following that setting forth the marriages prohibited as being within the Levitical degrees and especially including marriage to a brother's daughter and a sister's daughter, occur these words: "⁸

⁵ Bishop, "Marriage, Divorce and Separation," vol. i, sec. 288.

⁶ *Harrison v. State*, 22 Maryland, 468; *Dennison's case*, 35 *ibid.*, 361.

⁷ 26 *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, 845. At common law canonical impediments of consanguinity and affinity rendered a marriage voidable merely; the same is true where such marriages subject to such impediments are merely prohibited by statute, *ibid.*, p. 846.

⁸ Code of Rhode Island, 1909, c. 243, sec. 4.

The provision in the preceding section shall not extend to or in any way affect any marriage which shall be solemnized among the Jews within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity allowed by their religion.

Further exceptions in favor of the Jews in this code, paralleled in codes of other states, concern themselves entirely with the marriage ceremony, and probably took their origin in the fact that, in England, the mutual consent of the parties had to be interchanged in the presence of a Church-of-England minister or a clerk in holy orders;⁹ therefore these words are found in many statutes:

Marriage may be had and solemnized according to the rites and ceremonies of Jews.¹⁰

No marriage solemnized among the Jews is to be adjudged void if otherwise lawful when believed by either contracting party to be valid.¹¹

One naturally expects to find the reason for this special consideration for Jewish religious practice and belief in the very beginning of the history of Rhode Island,¹² and it may be easily traced back to the fondness for the Jews of the just, liberal and tolerant Roger Williams,¹³ that broad-minded

⁹ Bishop, *supra*, sec. 391.

¹⁰ Code of Rhode Island, *supra*, sec. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 22.

¹² Dr. Cyrus Adler first called attention to the desirability of writing down this history in *The Menorah*, vol. vii, p. 193. Dr. Herbert Friedenwald read a paper on "Influence of the Old Testament on Legislation in the Colony of New Haven" at the meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, at Baltimore, 1896; see Max J. Kohler, in *Publications*, No. 6, p. 61; Wilner, *ibid.*, No. 8, p. 119.

¹³ Oscar S. Straus, "Roger Williams," pp. 173-178; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. v, p. 169. Considering this outspoken fondness for Jews, I have copied the following excerpts from Austin's "Roger Williams' Calendar" (1897), many of them quite illustrative:

"His infinite wisdom hath given me to see the city, court, and country . . . to converse with Jews . . . and by books to know the affairs and religions of all countries.

Englishman, who played a great rôle in securing the re-admission of the Jews to England.

Not that New England generally, certainly not the Puritans, can be considered as not being steeped to the marrow in Hebraism; thus,

the growth of a sentiment in favor of lay marriages was fostered by the example of the Jewish law

says Professor Howard, and he adds,

Even the conception of a marriage as a civil contract gained support from the Jewish law. Our ancestors loved to cite the

"By the merciful assistance of the Most High, I have desired to labor in Europe, in America, with English, with Barbarians; yea, and also I have longed after some trading with the Jews themselves, for whose hard measure I fear the nations and England have yet a score to pay.

"Myself have seen the Old Testament of the Jews, most curious writing, whose price (in way of trade) was three score pound, which my brother a Turkey-merchant had and showed me.

"It was a large effusion of the Holy Spirit of God upon so many precious leaders and followers, who ventured their all to New England upon many heavenly grounds, three especially.

"1st The enjoyment of God according to their consciences.

"2ndly Of holding out light to Americans.

"3rdly The Advancing of the English name and plantations.

"All these consciences, yea, the very consciences of the Papists, Jews, etc., ought freely and impartially to be permitted their several worships, their ministers of the worship and what way of maintaining them, they freely choose.

"I commend that man whether Jew or Turk or Papist, or whoever that steers no otherwise than his conscience dares till his conscience tells him that God gives him a greater latitude.

"Is there not more danger (in all matters of trust in the world) from a hypocrite, a dissembler, a turncoat in his religion (from fear or favor of men) than from a resolved Jew, Turk or Papist, who holds firm to his principles?

"There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists, Protestants, Jews and

Book of Ruth and other scriptural texts in its favor and their view of the proper relations of husband and wife, those of parent and child, those of man and wife before marriage was derived directly from Biblical ordinance.¹⁴

An attempt was made in Massachusetts to formulate the law according to the Mosaic code.¹⁵

By an act of the Rhode Island Assembly in 1646, marriage was held to be a civil contract throughout New England and statutes were enacted requiring the publication of banns at two town meetings.¹⁶ In 1655 marriages were ordered to be

Turks may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm that all liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges: that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practise any.

"True civility and Christianity may both flourish in a state or kingdom notwithstanding the permission of divers and contrary consciences, either of Jews or Gentiles.

"Search all Scriptures, Histories, Records, Monuments; consult with all experiences. Did ever Pharaoh, Saul, Ahab, Jezebel, Scribes and Pharisees, the Jews, Herod, the bloody Neroes, Gardiners, Pope, or Devil himself, profess to persecute the Son of God, Jesus as Jesus, Christ as Christ, without a mark or covering?

"It pleased the Lord to call me for some time and with some persons to practise the Hebrew and the Greek, Latin, French and Dutch.

"Being comfortably persuaded that the Father of Spirits, who was graciously pleased to persuade Japhet (the Gentiles) to dwell in the tents of Shem (the Jews) will in His holy season (I hope approaching) persuade these Gentiles of America to partake of the mercies of Europe.

"I have known them to leave their house and to lodge a friend or stranger, when Jews and Christians oft have sent Christ Jesus to the manger."

¹⁴ Howard, "History of Matrimonial Institutions," Chicago, 1904, vol. ii, pp. 130, 131, 152.

¹⁵ Straus, *supra*, p. 84.

¹⁶ Howard, *supra*, p. 152.

published at town meetings, or on training days at the head of the company, or by writing posted in some public place, signed by a magistrate.¹⁷

Thus we see the influence of Hebraism on the marriage contract developing. By the act of the Rhode Island General Assembly of 1684¹⁸ the Jews received assurances that they might expect as good protection in Rhode Island as any other resident foreigners obedient to the laws. The peculiar language affecting *office* holders,—the oath of office, “on the faith of a Christian,”—seems to belie this generous act, but Mr. Arnold explains it that

This act of 1684 is worthy of note as evidence that the famous phrases professing Christianity, etc., were not embodied in the laws of 1663 but were interpolated at a later date and as would appear by this act, certainly subsequent to 1684.¹⁹

In 1698 an act was passed validating marriages solemnized according to the laws of the colony. In 1701 the marriage laws of Rhode Island were revised. In 1733, according to Arnold (vol. i, p. 113), except the clergy of England, Quakers were the only religious society whose preachers were, as yet, authorized to perform the marriage ceremony, a privilege accorded by the king. The Assembly now empowered the ministers of all denominations to unite persons in marriage.

We are now coming to the period when the influence of the Jews was beginning to make itself felt at Newport, the domicile of most of the Jews in the colony;²⁰ when by reason of their importance to the colony, their contributions to its wealth, to its material and cultural growth, special provision was made for the Jews and attention given to avuncular marriage.

In 1740, the Navigation Act²¹ exempting Jews from receiv-

¹⁷ Arnold's "History of Rhode Island," vol. i, p. 260.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

²⁰ Kohler, in *Publications*, *supra*.

²¹ Hollander, in *Publications*, No. 5.

ing the sacrament as a qualification for office was passed. In March, 1762, the Superior Court rejected the petition of certain Jews to be naturalized

as wholly inconsistent with the first principles upon which the colony was founded, and the laws of the same as now in force.²²

This has been explained by Max J. Kohler as playing at a game of politics, and it seems as if it was entirely at variance with the consistent history of that liberal treatment of Jews in according them full rights, which is now being traced; for, in the decade just preceding this, many Jewish families of wealth and distinction had come thither from Spain and Portugal, many coming because of the earthquake at Lisbon (1755). In 1764 the legislature recognized the validity of Jewish marriages, exception being specially made in favor of any persons possessing [professing] the Jewish religion who may be joined in marriage, according to their own usages and rites.

One must consider the influence of the Old Testament on the colonists just about to shake off allegiance to the mother country,²³ and the same influence in the development of the Declaration of Independence,²⁴ the address of the Newport Congregation to President George Washington and his cordial reply thereto, the effect of which could not have been other than to arouse strongly the feeling of the people of Rhode Island for the Jews; and perhaps the association of Jews with lawmakers in the Masonic lodges²⁵ at this time was not without its influence in sharply defining this predilection. In 1794 by an act to prevent clandestine marriages it was enacted that regular ordained ministers of all religious de-

²² Arnold, *supra*, vol. ii, p. 495, and Kohler, *supra*.

²³ Oscar S. Straus, "Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States."

²⁴ Herbert Friedenwald, "Declaration of Independence," pp. 184, 185.

²⁵ Oppenheim, in *Publications*, No. 19, pp. 18, 19, 20.

nominations shall have the fullest authority to join persons in matrimony.

We now come to the special exemption from the laws touching marriage within the prohibited degrees of affinity and consanguinity, allowed by the Jewish religion. I have had the acts of the Assembly of the State of Rhode Island carefully examined, but fail to find this statute before its appearance in the Code of 1798.²⁶

Such marriages are not to be compared with those wrongfully or unintentionally celebrated without a license or banns; or by a minister defectively ordained or without subsequent notice to the registrar. When such take place, they are valid.²⁷ Nor do they fall within the category of marriages prohibited by Jewish law, but allowed by our statutory law,

²⁶ My thanks for examining acts of various Rhode Island Legislatures, in order to find this Act of Assembly, are due to Mr. F. G. Bates, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, at Providence, and to Mr. Arthur A. Dembitz, of Philadelphia, who examined the same acts in the Charlemagne Tower Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

²⁷ A marriage is said to be void when it is good for no legal purpose; and its invalidity may be maintained in any proceeding in any court between any parties, whether in the lifetime or after death of the supposed husband, whether the question arises directly or collaterally. A marriage is said to be voidable when the imperfection can be inquired into, only during the lifetime of both husband and wife. Until it is set aside it is practically valid; when set aside it is rendered void from the beginning. Bishop, "Marriage, Divorce and Separation," vol. i, p. 119. It is likely to be considered so in New York. *Op.* the opinion in *Van Voorhis v. Brintnall*, 86 New York, 18, 26, to the effect that such avuncular marriages would not be considered in that state as legal under the rule of comity, though made so in the state where consummated. The penalties otherwise, moreover, are fines to the parties as well as to the minister. Nor can one escape the letter and violate the spirit of the law, by proceeding to another country or state, where such marriages are legal. This is also prohibited by statute and regular decisions.

although the contrary seems to be true in England.²⁸ Such marriages may even have to be construed in the courts of Rhode Island, since because of a like state of affairs they have had to be considered by the British courts.

A marriage, valid where celebrated, will be none the less incestuous here if within the prohibited degrees. Comity will not permit a violation of our criminal law, based on morals and public policy.²⁹ The decisions against these marriages proceed on the theory that they are against pronounced state policy. But it is not so, in the same sense as miscegenous marriages are forbidden. A Federal decision (1901) by a Pennsylvania judge, not reversed, makes parties to such a marriage liable to deportation.³⁰

²⁸ Surely not unless the ceremony is performed by the civil authorities and perhaps not at all. See H. S. Q. Henriques, "Jewish Marriages and the English Law." Thus a marriage to the sister of a divorced person during the latter's lifetime; or of a *Cohan* to a divorced person. Further examples of such consanguineous marriages are, in addition to those of first cousins, forbidden in Arizona, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Marriages with a brother's son's wife, a sister's son's wife, the wife's brother's daughter, or wife's sister's daughter are likewise forbidden.

²⁹ *State v. Brown*, 47 Ohio State, 102-109.

³⁰ "Among the Jews in Russia, where the marriage ceremony took place it has been satisfactorily proved that the marriage . . . is lawful, and being valid there, the general rule undoubtedly is, that such a marriage would be regarded everywhere as valid; but with this exception, at least, to the rule: If the relation thus entered into elsewhere, although lawful in the foreign country, is stigmatized as incestuous by the law of Pennsylvania, no rule of comity requires a court, sitting in this state, to recognize the foreign marriage as valid (same as to polygamous marriages), because a continuance of the relation would expose the parties to indictment in the criminal court." *In re Rodgers*, 109 Federal, 886, head-note. See also *The Jewish Chronicle*, December 16, 1910; Friedenberg, in *Publications*, No. 12, pp. 87, 96.

NOTES.

MORDECAI M. NOAH. A LETTER TO HIM, DATED 1822, FROM EDUARD GANS AND LEOPOLD ZUNZ, RELATING TO THE EMIGRATION OF GERMAN JEWS TO AMERICA.

In a petition of Mordecai M. Noah in 1820, in connection with his well-known scheme to establish a Jewish colony on Grand Island, he mentioned the persecution of Jews in Europe, and, in a proclamation subsequently issued, set forth the advantages of their immigration to America. (See G. Herbert Cone, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 11, pp. 131-137.)

After the dedication ceremonies in 1825, an account of which is given by Max J. Kohler (*Id.*, No. 8, pp. 97-118), Noah, in answer to criticisms of his scheme as visionary, published the following letter which had been written to him in 1822 by Drs. Zunz and Gans, and which does not appear to have been heretofore referred to. It was printed in the *Albany Daily Advertiser* of October 4, 1825, and I am indebted to Mr. Frank L. Tolman, reference librarian, New York State Library, for a copy. Noah there wrote that he published the letter "to exhibit an evidence of the fact that, although the Jews in the United States were not prepared for emigration, on the re-establishment of the nation, yet those abroad, who were more interested, have been alive to the project and in expectation of events which have taken place."

The letter reads:

"*Most honorable Sir.*—Amidst the general distress and public calamity under which a great part of the European Jews laboured, some years ago, and still are seen to labour, it was, indeed, no small consolation to every one, whom the fate of our brethren would appear no trifle, to hear the noble voice of a most excellent partaker of our faith, animating the abject spirits of the members of an oppressed creed, by *summoning them* from an ungrateful and unjust country, to that part of our globe which they style the *new* world, but would yet, with greater reason, name the better one. It was you, most honorable sir, who afforded

this sublime comfort. Since that time, *the better part of the European Jews are looking with the eager countenance of hope to the United States of North America, happy once to exchange the miseries of their native soil for public freedom, granted there to every religion; and for that general happiness which, not the adherents of a privileged faith alone, but every citizen is entitled to share.*

"The society who dares to address you this letter, united for the purpose of advancing the progress of science and knowledge amongst the partners of our religion, but penetrated at the same time with the deepest feelings of gratitude, for the pleasing view which you have opened to our unhappy brethren, would have deemed itself failing in a most urgent duty, not to acknowledge the *full extent of your meritorious undertaking*, by making you Extraordinary Member of our Congregation, and Correspondent General for the United States, according to which you will receive herewith the Letters Patent of this nomination, together with two accounts of the present state of our Society, which will perhaps give you a better notion of our *final purpose*, than this short letter can be able to afford.

"You would, most honorable sir, infinitely oblige us, if you would send us an exact relation of all the particulars concerning the Jews in every province of the United States, their progress in business and knowledge, and the rights allowed to them in general, and by each single state. But you would still more oblige us, by proposing to us a sufficient number of persons, able to be members of our society, and who, *under your presidency*, settling a particular congregation, would establish a perpetual correspondence with us about the means of *transplanting a vast portion of European Jews to the United States*, and how such emigration may be connected with the welfare of those who would prefer leaving their country to escape endless slavery and oppression.

"E. GANS, Doctor of Common Law, President.

"ZUNZ, Doctor of Philosophy, Vice President.

"M. Moser, 1st Vice Sec'y.

"To M. M. Noah, Esq.

"Berlin, 1st Jan. 1822."

Mr. Noah added:

"Correspondence of an extensive and interesting nature, not at present necessary or proper to notice, have resulted from the

general disposition of the European Jews to emigrate, and early in the ensuing spring, a select number will embark from Amsterdam and Hamburg.

"The above document, and others of similar weight, are warrants for the powers assumed and promulgated, which powers will be respected by those who are most materially interested. Among seven millions of a peculiar people I shall not want a portion who, confiding their destinies to the hands of the Almighty, will embark for a country where they can securely enjoy happiness until the period of the great restoration arrives; and if I shall fail in setting them examples of national fidelity, strict integrity, economy and industry, I shall advance no claims to their confidence and support."

Zunz, whose name is spelled in the printed letter Zuntz, is named with Gans as commissioner in Noah's proclamation issued at the founding of his proposed city in 1825. See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, *supra*, No. 8, p. 112.

To what extent, if any, emigration was induced by Noah's scheme, may be the subject of future investigation by some member of this Society.

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

INQUISITION DOCUMENTS.

The following, from the catalogue of Karl W. Hiersemann (No. 363), of Leipzig (Königstrasse 3; 1909), is of interest to students of American Jewish history:

COLECCION de cartas, consultas de inquisidores y papeles referentes al Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion y expulsion de los Indios en Portugal.

A collection of about 180 documents, mostly originals, of the Spanish Inquisition in Portugal during the reign of King Philip IV. (1621-1640), chiefly in Spanish and Portuguese, a source for the history of the pursuit of the Portuguese Jews. Although the great majority of the unchristened Jews had already been exterminated, Philip IV. decreed that not only the Moriscos, the Christian descendants of the early Moorish inhabitants, but also the descendants of the compulsorily christened Jews should be pursued. Many of them were put in prison by the Inquisition and burnt, others fled to foreign countries especially to the Netherlands, where they returned to Judaism.

The present collection consists of 520 leaves fol., numbered 104-623. It chiefly contains reports of the Inquisition to the King, decrees of the King, verdicts of ecclesiastical authorities and petitions of victims of the Inquisition. It offers many a completion to the fundamental works by Herculano: "Da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal" and Lea, "History of the Inquisition of Spain." Many documents, signed by the King himself with his initials, have also marginal notes added by him. Others come from the King's confessors Miguel de Castro and Antonio de Sotomayor, from the Archbishop of Coimbra, Bernardino de Sena, the Inquisitor-General Fernando Martinez Mascarenhas, the grand inquisitors Pedro Pacheco and Diego Osorio de Castro and from other well known theologians.

There is on pp. 184 *et seq.* an important petition, setting forth how the expulsion of the Jewish merchants would injure the trade with the colonies, especially with India, Brazil and Rio de la Plata. (*Cp. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 17, p. 45 *et seq.*)

There are added the following impressions between the manuscripts: 1. after fol. 244: Obispo Dom Fernão Martinez Mascarenhas Inquisidor geral em estes Reynos & Senhorias de Portugal Lisboa, Sept. 10, 1627.

1 sheet, fol. Decree to take legal proceedings against the concealed adherents of Judaism, on account of their hostility against Catholicism.

2. After fol. 411: Bien veo, y creo, muy alto y poderoso Rey (about 1628). Memorial adressed to the King against the Jews, wherein their dangerousness to the state is substantiated. 19 pp., fol.

3. After fol. 506: En el rey fago saber Lisboa, Aug. 7, 1627. 1 leaf, fol. Royal decree against the Jews.

COLECCION de 144 papeles. (manuscr.) varios referentes à la Inquisicion en España 1494-1725. Folio.

This collection consists of loose sheets without successive pagination. It contains, partly in originals, partly in authenticated copies, a large number of documents relating to the internal and ecclesiastical history of Spain, as far as it was influenced by the Inquisition. There are among others decrees of the King to the inquisitors, letters sent by them to the King and to other authorities, papal brevas, also reports of the Court of Inquisition. In many documents the seals are still kept in a good state of preservation, as well as the signatures. The following numbers

(among others) deserve special mention. They supplement details in Lea, "History of the Inquisition of Spain."

A bundle of deeds, containing original documents concerning the confiscation of goods belonging to some Spanish and Portuguese Jews who had fled to France and the Netherlands, also the claims and reprisals made by these two countries and the negotiations caused by them. See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 19, p. 157 *et seq.* They relate to a family named Cardozo.

Mr. Samuel Oppenheim states that these MSS. are in the library of the Hispanic Society of America, in New York.

To what is given at the place last cited may be added: 1. A letter with respect to Francisco de Carbajal, who was burned in statue. (First part, vol. i.)

LINCOLN AND THE JEWS.*

While Adolph H. Mayer, the writer's father, was living in Peoria, Ill., in the early 'fifties, he was the secretary of a political organization, and in that capacity received a note from Abraham Lincoln, naming a date for a meeting at which the latter was to speak. This note was kept among Mayer's papers, and in 1861, when he went to New Mexico on a mining venture, his wife carried the note with her to Texas, where the family went to visit an uncle. The war came on and Mayer's family remained in Galveston, but when the city was bombarded they were compelled to leave and go into the country. While they were stopping at a little hotel the landlady, who had three sons in the Confederate army, spoke very disparagingly of Lincoln, and Mrs. Adolph H. Mayer remarked that she had a letter in her trunk which he had written years before. The landlady threatened at once to burn the house if this letter was not produced so that she could destroy it, but Mrs. Mayer was able to evade the demand and retain the letter. It was afterwards lost in the Galveston storm, when a portion of her home was destroyed.

Adolph H. Mayer, shortly after hostilities commenced, organized the first New Mexican cavalry, of which he was the major, and of which Kit Carson, the scout, was colonel. Part of

* See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 17, p. 109 *et seq.*

this regiment afterwards came east and served with the Army of the Potomac. It was during this time, while Adolph H. Mayer was stationed in Pennsylvania, that he took a message from the governor of Pennsylvania to President Lincoln. His son, the writer, has the envelope now, bearing the imprint of the governor's office, Harrisburg, Pa., and addressed to the President. Across the face of the envelope was endorsed:

"Secretary of War. Please see and hear Major Mayer.

"April 29, 1864.

A. LINCOLN."

Major Mayer stated after the war that at this interview Lincoln at once recalled their meeting at Peoria, Ill., and treated him with the utmost kindness. Abraham Jonas, whose relations with Lincoln are set forth in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 17, was the writer's uncle.

WALTER S. MAYER.

MOSES WASSERMANN, THE AUTHOR OF "JUDAH TOURO."

Moses Wassermann was born at Ansbach, Bavaria, July 15, 1811.

After attending the gymnasium at Ulm, Wassermann continued his studies at the Universities of Würzburg and Tübingen. Tübingen conferred upon him the degree of Ph. D. in 1832, his doctor's dissertation being a work entitled "Ueber die Kategorien und die Art wie dieselben aufgefasst werden müssen."

Wassermann, in 1834, was appointed rabbinical administrator of Mergentheim. But he soon exchanged this position for a better one as rabbi of Mühringen, in the district of Horb, where he remained for upwards of thirty-six years, or from 1837 to 1873. In the last-named year he became the rabbi of Stuttgart, and here he remained until death claimed him on October 18, 1892.

This man's connection with the United States was unique. He wrote a German biographical novel of an American Jewish worthy which was published at Leipzig in 1871, and received the flattering honor of a second edition, this time in two volumes, at Stuttgart in 1875. "Judah Touro: Ein Gentleman semitischer Abstammung" is the title of the book, the scope and purport of which it sufficiently indicates. While the first edition is becoming scarce the book can with difficulty be called a rarity; the novel is a workmanlike bit of writing untouched by any sparks of genius, but carrying its narrative forward with simplicity and directness.

The Jewish department of the New York Public Library possesses the copy of "Judah Touro" which once belonged to George Bancroft, the historian. Bancroft was the first minister of the United States to the newly constituted German Empire, and the recipient of a letter from Wassermann which I deem it well to quote in full. It is inserted in the book which belonged to Bancroft, and is couched in a chaste and limpid style. I have to thank Librarian A. S. Freidus, of New York, for the opportunity to give it here, as follows:

"Euerer Excellenz

"Dem ebenso ausgezeichneten Gelehrten wie Staatsmanne wage ich das anliegende Buch, welches eben die Presse verlassen hat, mit der ganz gehorsamen Bitte zu überreichen, dasselbe einer geneigten Durchsicht würdigen zu wollen. Es hat sich die Glorifikation eines echten und wahren Menschenfreundes zum Ziele gesetzt, dessen stilles Wirken alle Ehre u. Anerkennung verdient.

"Zunächst habe ich desshalb das Buch dem Institute zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur übergeben, damit es in die Kreise dringe, in welchem der treffliche Gentleman semitischer Herkunft als Vorbild dienen soll. Es bleibt aber gleichwohl mein Eigenthum und Euere Excellenz würden mir eine grosse Wohlthat erweisen, wenn Hochdieselben mir Mittel und Wege zu seiner Verbreitung in Amerika bezeichnen u. vielleicht dieser Verbreitung selbst einigen Vorschub zu leisten die Gnade haben wollten.

"Der bekannte Satz: de minimis Praetor non curat schreckt mich nicht ab, Euerer Excellenz solche Bitte vorzutragen, denn ich stelle ihm einen anderen entgegen, der Ihrem edlen Sinne mehr entspricht, den nämlich: homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto. Der Geist dieser Humanität weht durch das ganze Buch u. ich wage desshalb um so mehr zu hoffen, dass Ew. Excellenz für dasselbe u. seinen Verfasser etwas zu thun geneigt sein werden.

"In aufrichtiger Ehrerbietung geharret

"Mühringen den 31. August 1871 Eurer Excellenz

"Württemberg gehorsamster

"Sr. Excellenz RABBINER DR. WASSERMANN.

"Herrn George Bancroft, Botschafter der vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika beim deutschen Reiche

"Berlin."

What reply Bancroft returned to this naive proposal that he embark in the publishing business, does not appear.

Wassermann's literary output was not large. Besides "Judah Touro" he produced three other works of fiction. "Die Mädchen von Chaibar" was an Oriental romance published at Stuttgart in 1859 over the pen name "Orientalus." Three short tales were comprised in the volume known as "Wahre Liebe." "Achtet die Kinder der Armen" appeared as a serial in *Achawa* for 1866. (*Cp. Israelitische Annalen*, No. 35, August 30, 1839; No. 47, November 22, 1839; *Voskhod*, weekly edition, 1892, col. 1170; "Yevreiskaya Enzyklopädia," St. Petersburg, 1910, v, col. 347; David Philipson, "The Reform Movement in Judaism," New York, 1907, pp. 85, 185, 199, 417, 452; *cp. Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1903, xvi, 57; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1870, p. 679, *feuilleton* 34; some of the details of Wassermann's life may be gleaned from *ibid.*, 1875, p. 85; 1892, supplement to issue 44; "Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," xli, 235, 236.)

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

MAYER LEHMAN IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH GEN. U. S.
GRANT, JEFFERSON DAVIS AND GOV. T. H. WATTS,
OF ALABAMA.

In the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion," Series 8, Vols. VII and VIII, is some correspondence in connection with the exchange of Confederate prisoners of war held by the Federal authorities, whose release was sought by the late Mayer Lehman, a resident of Alabama during the Civil War, and in later years a banker of New York City.

Writing to President Jefferson Davis on December 14, 1864, Governor T. H. Watts, of Alabama, informed Mr. Davis of the passage by the legislature of his State of an act requiring the governor to supply the Alabama soldiers held as prisoners by the Federals, with provisions, clothing, blankets and money, \$500,000 having been appropriated for this purpose. Governor Watts then proceeded to notify the Confederate President:

"I have appointed Mr. Meyer [*sic*] Lehman as the agent of the state, under this act, with instructions to proceed immediately to Richmond, to have if possible, the contemplated arrangements made. I have furnished him with instructions. He

will call on you and present this letter. He is a business man of established character and one of the best Southern patriots. He is a foreigner, but has been here fifteen years and is thoroughly identified with us.

"It will be necessary for him to go through the lines. I ask that he be furnished with proper passports and indorsed by you as the agent of the state of Alabama, to comply with the act of the Legislature to visit northern prisons, and to provide for the Alabama soldiers there in prison. I also ask the privilege for the state of Alabama of shipping 1500 bales of cotton (or whatever amount of cotton the appropriation made by Legislature for this purpose will purchase) through Mobile or New Orleans, either to Europe or the ports of the United States."

Governor Watts then told Mr. Davis that he will be obliged for any privilege or facilities afforded Mr. Lehman, and said that the Rev. I. T. Tichenor will accompany Mr. Lehman as assistant, for whom the same passport and facilities may be given. Messrs. Lehman and Tichenor thereupon went to Richmond and addressed the following letter to the commander of the Union forces:

"RICHMOND Jan. 11th, 1865.

"Lieut.-General Grant

"Commanding U. S. Army

"General:—

"We have the honor to announce to you that the State of Alabama has appropriated \$500,000 for the relief of prisoners from that State held by your government. The undersigned having been appointed agents for the purpose of carrying into effect the design of this appropriation most respectfully ask through you permission to proceed to the United States on the subject of our mission. Having obtained permission from the Confederate government to ship cotton to the amount of this appropriation we are requested by the governor of Alabama to ask permission to pass it through the blockade. We would further state that it would be agreeable to the Governor of Alabama if a vessel of the United States should be permitted to carry this cotton to the port of New York, to be there sold and the proceeds applied to the purchase of the blankets, clothing and such other things as may be needed for the comfort of prisoners from that state. We beg leave to suggest Mobile Bay as the point from which this cotton may be shipped. We deem it proper to state

that our mission is confined strictly to the object stated. It embraces nothing of a military or political nature, and if permitted to carry out the design of our state, we will cheerfully submit to such rules, regulations and paroles as are usual in such cases.

"We well know that a gallant soldier must feel for those brave men, who, by the fortunes of war are held as prisoners, exposed to the rigors of a climate to which they are not accustomed, the severities of which are augmented by the privations necessarily attendant upon their condition. We ask this favor with confidence, assured that your sympathies with the unfortunate brave will lead you to do all in your power to promote the benevolent design intrusted to us by the State of Alabama.

"We have the honor to be Your obedient Servants,

"M. LEHMAN,

"I. T. TICHENOR,

"Agents of the State of Ala."

To this letter no reply was forthcoming, and a second letter was sent as follows:

"RICHMOND, Feb. 1st 1865.

"Lieut.-Gen. Grant.

"General:—

"We had the honor to forward to you on the 11th of January, by flag-of-truce boat an application for permission to proceed to the United States for the purpose of supplying the wants of prisoners from the state of Alabama. The closing of that mode of communication by the ice in the river has induced our government to grant us permission to communicate with you by another channel. We enclose a copy (substantially) of our former letter and as it is a matter of the highest interest to the government and people of our state, most respectfully ask that we may be permitted to confer with you in person in regard to it. If such an interview should be deemed by you inconsistent with the interest of your government or inconvenient to yourself, we would be pleased to receive your decision on our application of the 11th ultimo.

"We have the honor to be most respectfully,

"M. LEHMAN,

"I. T. TICHENOR,

"Agents of the State of Alabama."

President Davis had meanwhile been active in Mr. Lehman's behalf; the failure of the latter's mission is explained in the former's communication to Governor Watts, dated March 7, 1865, as follows:

"I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication per hand of Mr. Lehman, agent of the state of Alabama, in regard to the shipping of cotton for the state to be used for the benefit of Alabama Soldiers then in prisons in the United States. The attention of the Secretary of the Treasury was immediately called to the subject of your letter and I presume Mr Lehman has reported to you the result of his attempt to visit the United States. Efforts were made to pass Mr Lehman through the lines but General Grant refused his permission upon the ground that he would only allow the Confederate authorities through the proper Commissioner of Exchange to transact such business. In the meantime the Confederate government had made arrangements to ship one thousand bales and conditional arrangements were made to ship fifteen hundred more for the benefit of the prisoners. Mr L was informed that the State of Alabama might take a portion of the cotton if desired. Obstacles were subsequently placed in the way of this last arrangement by the United States and the cotton was not shipped. Every facility was afforded the agent that was possible under the circumstances.

"Very respectfully and truly your friend,

"JEFF'N DAVIS."

Mayer Lehman was a native of Bavaria and died in New York, June 21, 1897, in the 67th year of his age. He was for many years prominent in manufacturing and financial enterprises in the State of Alabama. After the Civil War he settled in New York, where, with his brother Emanuel, he established the firm of Lehman Brothers which became one of the most influential banking houses in the metropolis, more especially in the cotton trade. On the day of Mr. Lehman's funeral the New York Cotton Exchange adopted the unusual procedure of suspending business during the hour of the services in Temple Emanu-El. Mr. Lehman's benefactions were many and in some instances princely, notably his endowment for the Mount Sinai Hospital of New York.

ISAAC MARKENS.

AN EARLY PRAYER IN ENGLISH.

The following prayer is believed to have been composed by Abraham Mears Isaacks, of New York, who was born at Swansey, "Boston Government," Mass., November 17, 1765. He married Rebecca, the daughter of Solomon and Sarah Simson, and was thus a brother-in-law of the celebrated Sampson Simson.

The prayer here given has never been published before; the MS. is the property of the writer, one of the descendants of Abraham Mears Isaacks:

"A Prayer Composed for the Day of Atonement during the Prevalence of the Yellow Fever in New York in 1803.

"Almighty And Everliving God in whose hands is the Soul of all living Incline thine ear to our Supplications and hear our prayer, great & unbounded is thy mercy Awfull & tremendous are thy Judgments On this day of holy Convocation let our prayers be acceptable unto thee oh Lord our God & our redeemer let our Soul be humble as the dust before thee oh our King Forgive our Manifold Sins and transgressions with wick we have offended against thy Great and Holy Name & Grant that we may be written in the Book of life— As it hath pleasd thee oh Lord our God to send the Angle of death to Visit the City from whence we have late departed & to Spread over it pestilence & Sore disease Hearkin unto our prayers this day we beseech Thee and have Mercy upon them let the numbers of those who have Suffered Expiate the Sins of those that remain Judge them not according to their demerits but extend thy mercy toward them Oh God the Restorer of Life to the dead Who is like unto thee Great in power & Might Let the Angel of Health again Visit their borders have pity oh God on the widow & fotherlss and all those who are Sore distresd dry up their Tears & let the Voice of Morning be heard no more in the land Suffer us Speedily to return again to our dwellings in peace that our hearts may Rejoice in thy Mercy and our tongues be Grateful in thy Prais Oh Lord God of Israel have Mercy upon us oh Lord have Mercy on When our fathers Sinned against thee oh Lord Thou heardest their Prayers & forgave them hear us now we beseech thee oh Lord & forgive us That all Nations of the earth may know the Lord he is God & thine is none Can Save or deliver but thou only For the Sake of thy Great and Holy Name grant Peace unto us and all Israel henceforth and forever

"Amen Amen"

REBECCA E. MITCHELL.

TWO SHEFTALL LETTERS.

The originals of the following letters are to be found among the miscellaneous MSS. in the New York Public Library, in a box containing wrapper marked "Mordecai Sheftall."

SAVANNAH, 30th August 1774

Sir

Yours I received on friday Evening last so late that I could not send you an answer thereto on account of my Sabbath, & yesterday I was prevented in ye fore part of the day by unavoidable business, & in the afternoon by a violent fever or would have answered it befor. I Therefor now informe you that I am very willing to settle the affairs respecting the Estate of Solomon Solomons, without any suite, and have not the least doubt, but you will be satisfied when you see a state of the account, which I shall furnish you with. I have a Ballance in my hands but nothing so considerable as his Brother may imagine which Ballance I will pay into your hands as soon as I am in Cash, which I fear will not not be till some time in October next, as I am under the necessity of providing a sum for Mr. Douglas by the first of October, which I fear will put me to a good deal of difficulty unless the people from Back Country, should come in by that time Therefore hope youl have patience with me and forbear any further proceedings Youl oblidge

Sir Your Humble Servant

Mr. John Houston
Savannah

MORDECAI SHEFTALL
~~1774~~

SAVANNAH, January 1st 1779.—

My Dear Fanny

I am now to inform you of my being a prisoner and confined in the white Gaurd House, where I am fully as well treated as I could Expect, as it is the duty of Every Honest man to give praise where it is due, I must acknowledge that I have met with much Genteel treatment from the officers than I was formerly led to believe we should receive. Our son Sheftall thanks be to god has Escaped unhurt and is with me. We are reduced to the Cloaths on our back and when we shall get a shifting god only knows—

I must recommend to you to take care of the rest of the Children, as I mean not to quite the boy that is with me if its in

my power to prevent. I hope our son Benjamin is or will in a short time be with you.

I have met with the kindest treatment from some of our old friends & neighbors, which I hope I shall ever retain a greatfull sense of. When it will be in our power to see you and the dear Children God only knows. therefor recommend to you to keep up your Spirits as I and the boy do ours, and wish that the great disposer of all things may take you all under his Immediate protection—

and I am my Dear Fanny your affectionate Husband

MORDECAI SHEFTALL

~~1779~~

Sheftall gives his Duty to you and joins me in love to the Dear Children, give mine to our friends—

(Endorsed)

Mrs. Francis Sheftall

Ato Mr. Joshua Harts in Charles Town

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

THE JEWS OF NEVIS.

(From Records at Fulham Palace, London.)

In 1723 the Bishop of London issued a printed paper of Queries to be answered by clergymen in the colonies.

To these Queries the Reverend Robert Robertson, minister of St. Paul's, Nevis, West Indies, replied. To No. 6, Query, as to the size and population of his parish, Parson Robertson replied as follows:

"It consists of the Town (Charles Town from Charles I., in whose Reign the Island was first Settled, 1628), and 3 or 4 small Plantations next to it. About 70 Householdors with their Families, being in all (children included), near 300 Whites, whereof one 4th are Jews, who have a synagogue here, and are said to be very acceptable to the Country Part of the Island, but are far from being so to the Town, by whom they are charged with taking the Bread out of the Christians' mouths. And this, with the encouragement said to be given to the Transient Traders, above what is given to the Settlers, is by many thought to be the true cause of the strange decay of this place—At present there is not above 3 or 4 Christian Families of note in my Parish."

N. DARNELL DAVIS.

JEFFERSON'S CONTEMPLATED OFFER OF THE POST OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO
MOSES (?) LEVY, OF PHILADELPHIA.

While examining the Gallatin papers I found a letter which brought to light the interesting fact that President Thomas Jefferson considered for some time the name of a Jew of Philadelphia for the high office of Attorney-General of the United States. When Attorney-General Lincoln was about to resign, Jefferson wrote to Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in regard to a successor. He was anxious to give the place to a Republican from Pennsylvania. His letter is dated Monticello, September 1, 1804, and after discussing the taking of a British vessel, and the question of international law therein involved, continued as follows:

"On the opinion you give as to Dickerson, I abandon that idea, but still wishing the aid of a good lawyer, and rather that he should be from Pennsylvania, I ask the favor of you to inquire fully into the legal knowledge, judgment, and moral and social character of Levy. We must have none but a good humored man." ("The Writings of Albert Gallatin," ed. Henry Adams, Philadelphia, 1879, Vol. I, p. 206.)

Gallatin's reply is dated from the Treasury Department, September 18, 1804, and after considering other topics, proceeded:

"The only difficult commission is how to obtain by correspondence information respecting not only the abilities, but moral and social disposition of Levy. As a lawyer, he is superior to Dickerson, and would, I presume, do tolerably; still he is but second rate, and as a statesman, and in some degree member of your cabinet, I do not think that he would do. Nor if his practice be, as it is presumably, worth six or seven thousand dollars, is it probable that he would give it up for the place of Attorney General, and exchange Philadelphia for Washington.

"For that reason it will be difficult to obtain officers from the gentlemen of the bar of these cities, where the profession is so lucrative. In Pennsylvania out of the City, the only Republican lawyers of reputation known to me are Hamilton of Carlisle and Baldwin of Pittsburgh. In New York there is no Republican equal to the place unless Brockholst Livingston who is a State Judge, would accept it." (*Ibid.*, p. 208.)

In a subsequent letter, Gallatin again advised against the appointment of either Dickerson of Pennsylvania or Rodney of Delaware, as not being equal to the position, and stated that Livingston would not accept. (*Ibid.*, p. 219.) As the President was still desirous of giving the place to a Pennsylvanian, he stated that he will further look into the matter. At the same time, he strongly urged the appointment of Breckenridge of Kentucky (*Ibid.*), and it was Breckenridge who was ultimately appointed.

While these letters are published in full in Gallatin's writings, edited by Henry Adams, they appear in abridged form only in the edition of Jefferson's writings, edited by Paul Leicester Ford, in which all reference to Levy is omitted, without asterisks to call attention to the omission. ("The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," ed. P. L. Ford, New York, 1897, Vol. VIII, p. 318.)

Who was the Levy to whom Jefferson refers? It occurred to me that the reference may be to Moses Levy, then one of the foremost jurists of Philadelphia. Moses Levy was the son of one of the signers of the non-importation agreement, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and had high social and professional standing (see *Publications*, No. 19, p. 121; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," s. v.; Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia"), but it will be seen that the letter cannot refer to him, because Gallatin speaks of his lucrative practice at the time, whereas Moses Levy was the recorder of Philadelphia from 1802 to 1822, when he became presiding judge of the District Court of Philadelphia. He could not, therefore, have been in active practice in 1804, unless the recorder of that day was permitted to practice his profession.

It is even more doubtful whether Jefferson's letter refers to the brother of the foregoing, Sampson Levy, who also had a very lucrative practice, but was always considered an eccentric, and never looked up to either as a scholar or a jurist. (See Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia.")

It may be interesting, therefore, to endeavor to ascertain whether there was not another lawyer of prominence of similar name in Philadelphia at the time whom Jefferson was considering for the office of Attorney-General of the United States.

LEON HÜHNER.

“A BURIAL PLACE FOR THE JEWISH NATION FOREVER.”

In these *Publications*, No. 18, p. 93 *et seq.*, a paper by Rosalie S. Phillips under the above title appears. In many cases the original inscriptions there reproduced were unclear and in part illegible. The records of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, Shearith Israel, of New York, enable us to correct discrepancies on the stones and to fill out some of the gaps where the inscriptions had become illegible.

P. 98, 3rd inscription, Mordecai Gomez died November 12, 1750.

P. 99, Hayman Levy: Menahem (Ab) 27, 5549 corresponded with August 18-19, 1789, not August 20, 1790. The synagogue records, however, give the same incorrect synchronisation, Ab 27th = August 20th. His daughter, Richa, died October 5, 1788, not 1799.

P. 100, 1st inscription, Rabbi Alexander was known as Alexander Harris.

P. 103, last inscription, Samuel Lazarus died October 11, 1798.

P. 104, 2nd inscription, Uriah Hendricks: September 27, 1799, should be 1798.

Ib., last inscription, Eliezar King: the dates were Heshvan 9, 5565, and October 14, 1804.

P. 105, 2nd inscription, Asher Hart: if “The Jewish Encyclopedia” (vi, 240) is right in giving the marriage date of Ephraim and Frances Hart as 1783, “37th (or 57th)” must read rather 7th, or possibly 17th.

Ib., 4th inscription, Rebeka Gomez: for 5551 read 5561.

P. 106, 1st inscription, Solomon: add “son of Joseph . . . died on the 3rd of the.”

Ib., 2nd inscription, Mrs. Rachel Myers: 1802 should read 1801.

P. 109, last inscription, Esther Gomez died January 3, 1811.

P. 110, 1st inscription, Mrs. Sarah Haya, wife of A. L. Phillips, and daughter of the Shammass.

Ib., 2nd inscription, the date (April 6th should be 5th) shows this to be the stone of Sloë, daughter of Solomon Myers, and wife of Hayman Levy. See also *Publications*, No. 18, p. 99, and p. 118, note 17.

Ib., last inscription, Benjamin Jacobs died December 15, 1811.

P. 111, 2nd inscription, David Hays died October 18th or 19, 1812.

P. 112, 2nd inscription, Phoebe Rosa Hart: the exact date of her death was October 12, 1814. Samuel Hart died December 25, 1813. He was born March 26, 1813.

Ib., 3rd inscription, Abraham Zuntz died November 22, 1814.

P. 113, 2nd inscription, Shebat 8th = February 7, 1816. The synagogue records state the death was reported on February 3, 1816.

P. 114, 2nd inscription, Bathsheba Gompers was buried Adar 13, 5577 = March 1, 1817.

P. 116, 1st inscription, Mrs. Jessy Judah was known in Hebrew as Simcha, daughter of Jekuthiel.

P. 117, 1st inscription, Jochebed Levy died 1820, not 1819. She was 23, not 25, years old.

P. 118, 2nd inscription, Sarah Hendricks' full name was Jochbed Sarah. She was a daughter of Uriah Hendricks, not mentioned in "The Jewish Encyclopedia" (vi, 346).

P. 119, 1st inscription, Manuel Noah died January 22, 1822.

Ib., 2nd and 3rd inscriptions, delete the "rule" between these, since they both refer to Jacob Hart.

Ib., last inscription, Brandly Isaacs was the daughter of Simeon.

P. 121, l. 25, Abraham Seixas was apparently an infant, see "The Jewish Encyclopedia" (xi, 159).

Ib., l. 5 from bottom, Aaron Louzada died December 21, 1764.

Ib., l. 2 from bottom, Daniel Torres died Iyar 21, 1770.

Ib., last line, Benjamin Gomez died August 9, 1772.

P. 122, l. 5, Isaac Adolphus died September 7, 1774 (Tishri 2, 5535).

Ib., l. 17, Joseph Solomons was 3 years, 6 months old.

Ib., l. 18, Josephine Lazarus was aged 3 years.

Ib., l. 20, Hannah Jacobs, a child.

Ib., l. 23, Moses Gomez's age was 82 years.

Ib., l. 24, Esther Levy's age was 33 years.

Ib., l. 27, Lavinia Brandon was aged 2 years.

D. DE SOLA POOL.

NECROLOGY.

JOSEPH FRIEDENWALD.

Joseph Friedenwald was born at Alten-busick, Hessen-Darmstadt, Germany, July 24, 1827.

He came to Baltimore with his father, Jonas Friedenwald, in 1830. When twenty-four years of age he associated himself with his brothers-in-law, Mr. Stern, and Mr. Wiesenfeld, in establishing the firm of Wiesenfeld & Co., which soon ranked among the first in the land in the manufacture of clothing. Later he founded the large and widely known Crown Cork and Seal Company, of which he became president, and continued so until his death. He took an active interest in communal affairs, and was a founder and for eighteen years the first president of the Hebrew Hospital and Asylum Association. He gave liberally to Baltimore's Russo-Jewish charities.

He was president of the Board of Trustees of the Bay View Asylum (City Almshouse) from 1874 to 1895. While acting in this capacity, by showing his entire freedom from religious prejudice and permitting Roman Catholic priests besides Protestant clergymen to conduct services at this institution, he became a close friend of Cardinal Gibbons. Mr. Friedenwald took an active interest in State and city politics and was a practical farmer. In 1881 he supported a colony of seventy-five Russo-Jewish farmers at Waterview, Middlesex County, Virginia; but this failed.

On February 14, 1852, he married Miss Rosina Rosewald, who pre-deceased him on August 19, 1905. Of his thirteen children twelve survived at the time of his death in Baltimore, December 24, 1910.

BENJAMIN H. HARTOGENSIS.

JOSEPH LOTH.

Joseph Loth, a life-member of this Society, died in New York May 29, 1910.

Born in Hungary in 1827, he landed in New York about 1849. A knowledge of the weaving trade, acquired in his earlier years, enabled him to obtain employment in a carpet factory at Warehouse Point, Conn. Later he opened a small shop for the sale of fancy goods in Stamford, Conn.

In 1863 he moved to New York and was engaged in the wholesale trade until 1874, when he determined to become a silk-ribbon manufacturer. "Fair and Square" was his trade-mark, synonymous of his long career. He retired about the year 1895, and thenceforward devoted his time to the amelioration of his fellowmen.

Mr. Loth was closely identified with many charitable institutions, but took particular pride in his office as chairman of the Charity Committee of Mount Neboh Lodge, No. 257, F. & A. M., of New York, a post he filled with credit for almost a third of a century.

ISIDOR METZGER.

ADOLPHUS S. SOLOMONS.

Adolphus S. Solomons was one of the finest exemplars of a Jew of American birth, being distinguished alike for unswerving loyalty to his faith and to his country. He was born in the city of New York on October 26, 1826. His father, John Solomons, came to the United States from England in 1810, and was associated with James Watson Webb in conducting the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. His mother was Julia, a daughter of Simeon Levy.

He received his education at the University of the State of New York. On his graduation he engaged in mercantile pursuits, in which he continued for many years, finally establishing the publishing house of Philp & Solomons in

Washington. At the age of fourteen he enlisted as a color guard in the Third Regiment of the New York State Militia, known as the Washington Greys, and later became a sergeant. In 1851 he was appointed by Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, as a special bearer of despatches abroad. On his return he took an active part in the organization of the Jewish Hospital of New York, which had been founded by Sampson Simson, from which developed the palatial Mount Sinai Hospital of to-day.

On his removal to Washington, he took an active part in the development of that city, and in 1871 became the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the District of Columbia. He became prominent in all public activities at the Nation's capital, and was on terms of cordial friendship with Abraham Lincoln, the last photograph of the martyred President having been taken at Mr. Solomons' place of business. This photograph, with Lincoln's signature, is now in the possession of Mrs. N. Taylor Phillips, one of the daughters of Mr. Solomons.

He was one of the founders of the Garfield Hospital, established in commemoration of the President, and continued an active director of that institution until his death. He projected the free night lodging-house for men, which is now the Municipal Lodging-House of Washington. For fifty years he was a member of the board of directors of Columbia Hospital, and for many years was in the directorate of the Providence Hospital at Washington. He was the organizer of the first training school for nurses in the District of Columbia. The Red Cross Society held its first meeting at his home, being called into existence as the result of his initiative. For seventeen years he was an active member of the National Association of the Red Cross, and one of its two vice-presidents. President Arthur appointed him, with Clara Barton, to represent the United States Government at the International Congress of the Red Cross, which was held at

Geneva, Switzerland, in 1881, and he was elected vice-president of that Congress. He was one of the five original members of the New York Executive Board of the Red Cross Relief Committee. He was regarded by men of every shade of thought as one of the first citizens of Washington.

Early in its history he became affiliated with the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and continued to be the American representative of its Central Committee, and its treasurer for the United States, until his death.

On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Moses Montefiore, he advocated the establishment of the Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids in the city of New York, to commemorate that occasion, and he ever after continued to be a member of the board of that great benefaction.

From the time of the organization of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association of New York until it became merged with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, he was a trustee of that organization, being its acting president at the time of the merger. He was largely instrumental in the formation of the present Seminary, and was one of its charter members and life directors. His interest in that institution was unflagging and intelligent, and it was largely due to his sincere devotion for what he considered a sacred cause that it became revived and powerful. It was solely due to his initiative that the Teachers' Institute of the Seminary was formed for the training of Jewish teachers, and one of the greatest joys of his last days on earth was afforded by the realization of his desire that such a school be established.

He was also one of the founders of the Jewish Protectory and Aid Society, and was its sole honorary director. When but few members of the Jewish community of New York recognized the need of such a reformatory, with far-seeing mind, he insisted upon its immediate foundation; and upon

its incorporation he was most helpful in suggesting plans of operation, strongly advocated the adoption of the cottage system, and had much to do with making the Protectory the first Jewish institution which operated by that method.

He was one of the founders of the New Era Club, the projector of the Columbia Street Sewing School, and a faithful friend of the Educational Alliance.

In 1891 he became the general agent of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and the director of its many activities in America; and continued in charge of that responsible work until 1903, when he became its honorary general agent. His work in this important position was fruitful of results, and much of the success of that philanthropy is due to his fidelity to the trust reposed in him, and to his creative energy.

To whatever work he undertook, he gave the best that was in him. He dedicated himself to it heart and soul. He never wearied, and he never doubted. He was an inspiration to his associates and filled them with that wholesome optimism which permeated his entire being. He was, withal, a man of the greatest modesty. Though possessed of the grandeur of soul which pertains to a saint, his was the simplicity of a child. He believed in the sacred duty of personal service, and he performed that duty as a religious act, with cheerful heart, serious mind and willing hand, thoroughly and not perfunctorily. Though possessed of the creative intellect of a leader, he did not hesitate to follow. Though firm in his convictions, he never obtruded his beliefs. Warmth and geniality, radiated from an attractive personality. To the appearance of a venerable patriarch there was conjoined an ever-youthful interest in the world about him and in the welfare of his fellowmen. He was tolerant of the views of others, and never ceased to be a student of conditions and a disciple of those who strove for human betterment.

He was not only distinguished as a Jew in his communal, charitable and philanthropic aspects, but he was a deeply

reverent observer of the faith as it came to him from his ancestors. He was deeply imbued with all the high ethical concepts of Judaism. It was a part of his innermost being. It was inseparable from his daily conduct, and was the polar star by which he steered his path. With all of his modernity and his unquestionable Americanism, he adhered, not only to the principles, but to the forms and ceremonies of historic Judaism without murmur, complaint or hesitation, and his life was one of happiness. There was never an occasion when he felt that there could be an inconsistency between his religion and his citizenship. Though at all times he mingled with non-Jews of all kinds and conditions, it was never brought to his notice that they recognized the need on his part of resorting to that form of assimilation which would destroy, suppress or lead him to conceal or apologize for his Jewish convictions. If such an attitude had been indicated, it would have disappeared in the presence of his pitying smile.

His was a life replete with moral beauty, one which it would be well for his contemporaries to study and to emulate. When he died, on March 18, 1910, in his eighty-fourth year, he was gathered to his fathers, a faithful custodian of the noble traditions of his people, and a saintly champion of the deathless mission of Judaism.

LOUIS MARSHALL.

DAVID SULZBERGER.

David Sulzberger was born in Heidelberg, Baden, May 1, 1838.

In his infancy his parents, Leopold and Zirlah Einstein Sulzberger, removed to this country, taking up their residence in Philadelphia. David Sulzberger received his education in the public schools of Philadelphia, later attending the Central High School. Deciding to go into business he removed in 1862 to Van Buren, Arkansas; four years later he

tried his fortunes in New York, and in 1867 returned to Philadelphia, where he engaged in the manufacture of extracts, perfumes and essential oils. David Sulzberger, however, devoted almost his entire time to the poor and the needy; his business was secondary to the larger and nobler efforts that made his name blessed by thousands. In this he was absolutely unselfish; with rare ability and exceptional knowledge of the conditions of the poor and uneducated, he resolved to devote his life to the betterment of his fellowmen.

The year 1876 was a milestone in his career, for then he was elected secretary of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, and continued in that capacity until his death, giving thirty-four years of devoted service. The society during that time grew in usefulness and strength; to-day it is one of the foremost institutions of the kind in this country. Mr. Sulzberger's activity in this respect is almost unparalleled in the history of Jewish philanthropic organizations. Almost every evening for over three decades he assisted and directed its work. But it is not only his extraordinary connection with the official work of such a society that is noteworthy; he assisted in his private capacity hundreds who applied to him. The poor always had his ear; quietly, unostentatiously, he helped and caused others to help the needy and unfortunate. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, going regularly to its correctional institution, teaching and cheering the prisoners and aiding them after their release to secure a livelihood. Mr. Sulzberger was secretary of the Board of Trustees of Gratz College and assisted in its organization; he was one of the active spirits in the formation of the Young Women's Union and other kindred organizations. He was president of the Philadelphia Branch of the Alliance Israélite Universelle; he was a life member and the first secretary of the Board of Governors of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning; the Hebrew Sunday School Society recognized in him one of its staunchest friends.

David Sulzberger was one of the original members of the American Jewish Historical Society and contributed two articles to its publications; the first in 1897, "An Estimate of the Jewish Population of the United States" (No. 7), and only last year at the meeting in New York, a paper that we all remember on the "Beginnings of the Russo-Jewish Immigration to Philadelphia" (No. 19). With the latter subject he was intimately familiar, as he was one of the principal figures in the heroic work that was started in 1882.

After a short illness Mr. Sulzberger died at his home in Philadelphia, March 15, 1910.

A. S. W. ROSENBACH.

R. HAMMETT TILLEY.

Risbrough Hammett Tilley, a corresponding member of the American Jewish Historical Society, was born in Newport, R. I., September 1, 1850, the only child of Benjamin James and Mary Chapman (Taylor) Tilley.

His education was received at a private school kept by Miss Matilda Nichols, in the old house on Marlborough Street, once the White Horse Tavern of early days in Newport. At sixteen his father died, and soon Mr. Tilley took charge of his newspaper business; but his inclination was always for study, and in 1884 he became librarian of the Newport Historical Society. Chiefly through his patience and perseverance the collections of this Society have been increased.

In 1880 Mr. Tilley commenced the publication of *The Newport Historical Magazine*, devoted to history and genealogy. He was also editor of the *American Notes and Queries*, and the first editor of the historical and genealogical column of the *Newport Mercury*.

Governor Lippitt in 1896 created the office of State Record Commissioner of Rhode Island and appointed Mr. Tilley as such; this office he held until his death.

He died at Newport, August 16, 1910, after a long illness.

EDITH MAY TILLEY.

INDEX.

- Aaron, Benjamin, 100.
 Abarbanel, 58, 78.
 Abendana, Jacob de Joseph, 53.
 Abergavenny, Lady of, 121.
 "Abigall," ship, 88.
 Abraham, Isaac, 113.
 Abraham, John, 89.
 Abrams, Petro, 111.
 Absolom, Edward, 99.
 Academy of Arts and Sciences in Richmond, 102.
 "Acta Eruditorum," alluded to, 53.
 "Acts of Virginia," ref. to, 103 (note).
 "Achawa," ref. to, 154.
 "Achtet die Kinder der Armen," (Wassermann), 154.
 Adams, Henry, ref. to, 161, 162.
 Adams, Herbert B., ref. to, 93 (note), 102 (note).
 Adams, Mr. [John], 25, 28.
 Adams, Rev. William, diary of, quoted, 49.
 Adler, Dr. Cyrus, alluded to, 31 (note), 87, 91 (note).
 ref. to, 88 (note), 140 (note).
 Adolphus, Isaac, 164.
 Ainsworth, 78.
 "Albemarle County in Virginia" (Woods), ref. to, 90 (note), 98 (note).
 Alexander, Rabbi. See under Harris, Alexander.
 Alexander, Samuel, 104.
 "Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," ref. to, 154.
 "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums," ref. to, 154.
 Alliance Israélite Universelle, 168.
 Alliance Israélite Universelle, Philadelphia branch, 171.
 "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika" (Moore), ref. to, 31 (note).
 Alvord, Clarence Walworth, ref. to, 95 (note), 96 (note).
 America, study of Jewish history in, 9.
 "American Educational History Series," ref. to, 102 (note).
 "American Jew, The, as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen" (Wolf), alluded to, 93 (note).
 American Jewish Historical Society, 9, 172.
 Publications, ref. to, 11, 22 (note), 29 (note), 31 (note), 45 (note), 55 (note), 57, 69 (note), 85 (note), 86 (note), 88 (note), 91 (note), 93 (note), 94 (note), 99 (note), 100 (note), 102 (note), 104 (note), 105 (note), 110 (note), 111 (note), 112 (note), 138 (note), 140 (note), 144 (note), 146 (note), 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 162, 163, 172.
 "American Notes and Queries," 172.
 "Americans no Jewes" (L'Estrange), alluded to, 60 (note).
 Amicable Society, Richmond, 102.
 Andrewes, Lancelot, 78.
 "Anglo-Jewish Bibliography" (Jacobs and Wolf), 6.
 Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, 6.
 Antonia, Princess, of Wurtemberg, 79.
 Arizona, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Arkansas, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Arnold, quoted, 143, 144.
 Arnold, Christopher, 54 (note).
 Aronius, 3.
 Arthur, President, 167.

- "Athenæum, The" (London), ref. to, 47 (note).
 Athias, Joseph, 59.
 Austin, "Roger Williams' Calendar," quoted, 140 (note), 141 (note), 142 (note).
 Avenarius, J., 34.
 Aylion, Haham Solomon, 52.
- Baber, Sir John, 117 (note).
 Bachya, 68.
 Baer, S., 4.
 Baldwin, 161.
 Bancroft, George, 153, 154.
 letter of Moses Wassermann to, quoted, 153.
 Barclay, Mr., 23, 25, 27, 28.
 Barnett, Jacob, 46, 47.
 Baron de Hirsch Fund, 169.
 Barrasch, Dr. Julius, 8.
 Barratt, Norris S., and Sachse, Julius F., ref. to, 94 (note).
 Bartolocci, 79.
 Barton, Clara, 167.
 Bates, F. G., 145 (note).
 "Bay Psalm Book," 37, 43, 51, 59, 80, 82.
 quoted, 38.
 Bay View Asylum (City Almshouse, Baltimore), 165.
 Bedloe, Captain, 115, 119, 120, 124, 128.
 Bedwell, William, 78.
 "Beginnings of the Russo-Jewish Immigration to Philadelphia" (Sulzberger), 172.
 B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge for Germany, 5.
 Benjamin of Tudela, 58, 78.
 Bennet, John, 117 (note).
 Bernall, Franciscus, 112.
 Bernard, 78.
 Beth Holim Cemetery, London, 53 (note).
 Beth Shalom Congregation, Richmond, 104, 105.
 Beverly, Robert, "History of Virginia," ref. to, 88 (note).
 "Biblia Americana" of Cotton Mather, alluded to, 68.
 "Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica" (Jacobs and Wolf), ref. to, 37 (note).
- Bishop, ref. to, 139 (note), 140 (note), 145 (note).
 Blackden, Col., 25.
 Bland, Theodore, 93.
 Block, Abraham, 100 (note).
 Boatright, John, 98 (note).
 Bochart, 79.
 Boston Historical Society, 68.
 Boston public library, 76.
 Boston, Synod at, confession of faith assented to at, quoted, 82.
 Bowers v. Bowers, ref. to case of, 138 (note).
 Boyle, Sir Robert, 75, 80.
 Bradford, Governor, 32, 33, 34, 76, 81.
 ref. to, 75 (note).
 Brady, Tom, 96.
 Brandon, Lavinia, 164.
 Brand, B., 102.
 Braxton, Carter, 92 (note).
 Brazil, 117.
 Breckenridge, 162.
 Breithaupt, 79.
 Brentz, Frederick, 54 (note).
 Brewster, Elder William, 34, 76.
 "Brief Relation" (Luttrell), ref. to, 117 (note), 128 (note).
 Brito, Isaac, 53 (note).
 Broughton, Hugh, 78.
 Brown, Mr., 16.
 Brown, Molly, 72 (note).
 Bruce, Philip A., quoted, 86, 87.
 ref. to, 87 (note), 88 (note).
 Büchler, A., 8.
 Bueno, Benjamin, 110.
 Bueno, Jacob, 111.
 Bueno, Joseph, 110.
 Buonaparte, Emperor, 12.
 "Burial Place, A, for the Jewish Nation Forever," Note on, by D. de Sola Pool, 163, 164.
 Burnet, "History of Own Times," quoted, 123 (note).
 Buteau, 96.
 Butler, P., letter to Thomas Jefferson concerning David S. Franks, quoted, 29.
 Buxtorf's, "Concordances," 42.
 Hebrew Grammar, 76, 77.
 Hebrew Lexicon, 34, 52, 76, 77, 80.
 Buxtorfs, the, 79.

- "Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1623-1625" (English), ref. to, 47.
- "Calendar of Jefferson Correspondence," ref. to, 11.
- "Cal. S. P. Dom, 1663-4," ref. to, 117 (note).
- "Calendar of the Plea-Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews" (Rigg), 6.
- "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," ref. to, 92 (note), 94 (note), 103 (note).
- Cambridge University, study of Hebrew in, 34, 35 (note), 45, 46, 47, 74.
- "Camden Society Publications," ref. to, 112, 113 (note).
- Capellus, 80.
- Cardoza, Aaron N., 104.
- Cardoza (Cordoza), Solomon, 110 and (note).
- Cardozo, family of, 151.
- Cardozo, Mosseh Yesurun, 111.
- Carlisle, 161.
- Carmichael, Mr., 23.
- Caro, Professor, "Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden," 9.
- Carpzov, 79.
- Carr, Mrs., 17.
- Carson, Kit, 151.
- Cartwright, 78.
- Carvajal, Antonio Fernandez, 53 (note).
- Casaubon, Isaac, 46, 47.
- "Cases of Conscience" (Mather), quoted, 53, 54.
- Cassel, Selig, 1.
- Castell, 78.
- Castlemain, Earl of, 124.
- Castries, Marl de, 27.
- Catherine, Queen, of England, 116, 117.
- Cemetery, Jewish in London, 53.
- Cemetery, Jewish, in Richmond, 104.
- Centinjo, Isaac Pereira. See under Coutinho, Isaac Pereira.
- "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen" (Porges), ref. to, 76 (note).
- Channing, George C., ref. to 104 (note).
- Charles II, 109, 118.
- Charleston, Congregation, 105.
- Christina, Queen, of Sweden, 41 (note), 79.
- Chateaubon, M. de. See under Chateaubont, M. de.
- Chateaubont (Chateaubon), M. de, 23.
- Chatelux, Marquis de, 22.
- Chauncey, Charles. See under Chauncy, Charles.
- Chauncy (Chauncey), Charles, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 73, 74.
- "Christia Synagogue" (Weemes), 34.
- "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts" (Young), ref. to, 36 (note), 69 (note).
- Clarendon, Earl of, 115, 117, 121, 124, 126.
- Clark, Samuel, 78.
- "Cleare Sun-shine, The, of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New England" (Shephard), epistle in preface to, quoted, 43.
- Coccejus, 79.
- "Code of Rhode Island, 1909," ref. to, 139 (note).
- quoted, 140.
- Coen, Abraham, 112.
- Coen, Petrus, Jr., 110.
- Coen, Petrus, Sr., 110.
- Cohen, Abraham, brother of Joseph Simon Cohen, 108.
- Cohen, Abraham, of Philadelphia, correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and, quoted, 18-20.
- Cohen, Captain Jacob, 96, 97, 98, 100.
- Cohen, Charles J., on "Joseph Simon Cohen," 107, 108.
- Cohen, Eleazar, 108.
- Cohen family, correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and, quoted, 18-20.
- Cohen, Henry, 108.
- Cohen, Israel, 104.
- Cohen, Israel I., 105.
- Cohen, Jacob, of Richmond, 100, 102.
- Cohen, Jacob I., 104.
- Cohen, Jacob I., jr., 105.
- Cohen, Joseph Simon, 107, 108.

- Cohen, Myer M., 104.
 Cohen, Solomon Myers, 107.
 Cohen & Bros., Baltimore, letter to Chas. Ritchie concerning memorial to Thomas Jefferson, quoted, 20.
 Cohen & Isaac, firm of, 102.
 Cohen. See also under Coen.
 "Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library," ref. to, 95 (note), 96 (note).
 "Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.," ref. to, 32 (note), 41 (note), 49 (note), 51 (note), 52 (note), 53 (note), 55 (note), 57 (note), 63 (note), 75 (note), 76 (note).
 Colomesius, Paulus, "Gallia Orientalis," ref. to, 79.
 Columbia Hospital, Washington, 167.
 Columbia Street Sewing School, New York, 169.
 Cone, G. Herbert, ref. to, 147.
 Congregations, New York. See under Shearith Israel Congregation, New York.
 Congregations, Philadelphia. See under Mikvé Israel Congregation, Philadelphia.
 Congregations, Richmond. See under Beth Shalom Congregation, Richmond.
 Cooper, Mr., 122.
 Cordoza, Solomon. See under Cardoza, Solomon.
 Cotton, John, 35, 36, 38, 45, 50, 74.
 "Cotton Mather's Diary," ref. to, 77 (note).
 "Courier and Enquirer," New York, 166.
 Coutinho (Centinjo, Couthino), Isaac Pereira (Isaac Jeraio), 110 and (note).
 Couthino, Isaac Jeraio. See under Coutinho, Isaac Pereira.
 Cox, Nathaniell, 124.
 Croghan, George, 92 (note).
 Croghan, William, 92 (note).
 Crown Cork and Seal Company, 165.
 Cutler, Timothy, 73 (note), 74 (note).
 Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure, ref. to, 139 (note).
 Daboville, Capt., 27, 28.
 da Costa, Anthonius, 112.
 da Costa, Antonius, 112.
 Da Costa, David, 88.
 Da Costa, Francis, 30.
 da Costa, Joseph Nunes, 112.
 "Daily Advertiser," Albany, ref. to, 148.
 Daly, Charles P., "Settlement of the Jews in North America," alluded to, 85 (note).
 ref. to, 89 (note).
 Dangerfeld. See under Dangerfield.
 Dangerfield (Dangerfeld), Mr., 127, 132.
 Darmstadt, Joseph, 99, 102, 104.
 d'Arunzio, Marquess, 130.
 Daveiga, Samuel, 110.
 Davis, 6.
 Davis, Jefferson, 154, 155, 157.
 Davis, N. Darnell, Note on "The Jews of Nevis," 160.
 "Day of Doom, The" (Wigglesworth), alluded to, 44.
 de Andrade, Luys, 112.
 de Castro, Diego Osorio, 150.
 de Castro, Miguel, 150.
 de Carbajal, Francisco, 151.
 de Carceres, Simon, 53 (note).
 "Declaration of Independence" (Friedenwald), ref. to, 144 (note).
 Declaration of Independence, influence of Old Testament on, 144.
 De Costa, David, 110.
 de Costa, John Mendez, 112.
 de Costa, Pinet, 94.
 de Dieu, 79.
 de Faria, Abraham, 121.
 de Faria, Francisco, 116, 117, 118, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132.
 narrative concerning Popish Plot, quoted, 118-123.
 deposition of, concerning same, quoted, 129-132.
 de Faria, John, 116.
 de Faria, Timotheo, 116.
 de Fonseca, Alvaro, 111.
 de Freitas, Gaspar Abrew (de Frit-

- tos, Jaspas Abrude), 116 and (note), 118.
- de Frittos, Jaspas Abrude. See under de Freitas, Gaspar Abrew.
- de la Cerda, Domingo, 111.
- De La Motta, Dr., letter of Thomas Jefferson to, quoted, 21.
- Delamotte, B. (?) letter to Thomas Jefferson, quoted, 21.
- de Lix, Francisco, 111.
- de Medina, Diego, 111.
- De Melos, Don Francisco, 118.
- Dembitz, Arthur A., 145 (note).
- de Mercade, David Raphael, 110.
- de Mercado, Abraham, 112.
- de Mercado, Ralph, 112.
- de Miranda, Jeronimo Fernandes, 111.
- de Paiva, Abraham, 112.
- de Paiva, Franciscus, 111.
- de Paz, Samuel, 112.
- de Sena, Barnardino, 150.
- de Silva, Aaron, 110.
- de Sotomayor, Antonio, 150.
- de Tores, Amaso, 88.
- de Verona, Antonio (Maria Antonio), 47, 48.
- de Verona, Maria Antonio. See under Antonio de Verona.
- "Diary of Increase Mather" (Green, ed.), ref. to, 80 (note).
- Dias, Lewis. See under Gutterses, Luis Dias.
- Dias, Manuell Raell, 111.
- Dickerson, 161, 162.
- "Dictionary of National Biography," ref. to, 37 (note).
- D'Israeli, Isaac, alluded to, 57.
- "Documents Regarding the Thanksgiving Proclamation of Governor Hoyt of Pennsylvania (1880)," contributed by William B. Hackenburg, 133-135.
- Domus Conversorum, in London, 46.
- Douglas, 159.
- Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Philadelphia, 171.
- Drusius, 79.
- Dsalmon (Solomon, Tebi), 54 (note).
- Dubnow, editor "Yevreiskaja Starina," 8.
- Dudley, Joseph, letter of Increase Mather to, quoted, 57, 58.
- Dudley, Mr., 51.
- Dudley, Thomas, 76.
- Dugdale, Mr., 127.
- Dummer, Jeremiah, letter of Judge Sewall to, concerning Jews, quoted, 55.
- ref. to, 58 (note).
- Dunster, Henry, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 74.
- letter to Ravius, quoted 41, 42.
- ref. to, 74, 80, 81.
- Dunton, John, 77.
- Durie, John, 60 (note).
- Duval, William, 96 (note), 98 (note).
- "Early Prayer in English, An," Note, by Rebecca E. Mitchell, 158.
- "Early Recollections of Newport, R. I." (Channing), ref. to, 104 (note).
- Eberts, the, 79.
- "Ecclesiastical History, The, of New England." See under "Magnalia Christi Americana."
- Educational Alliance, New York, 169.
- Egers, Dr., 4.
- Egerton MSS., ref. to, 116 (note).
- Eisenmenger, 79.
- Elcan, Marcus, 104.
- Eleazer ben Azariah, R., 69.
- Eliot, John, 37, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 74, 81.
- "Eminent and Representative Men of Virginia and the District of Columbia," ref. to, 103 (note).
- England, law on consanguineous marriages, 139, 140, 146.
- England, societies in, for study of Jewish history, 5, 6, 7.
- Enriques, Daniel Bueno. See under Henriques, Daniel Bueno.
- Enriques, Moses Hengas, 110.
- Ersch and Gruber's, "Encyclopædie," alluded to, 1.
- "Esperança de Israel" (Menasseh ben Israel), 60.

- Espinosa, Abraham, 111.
 "Estimate, An, of the Jewish Population of the United States" (Sulzberger), 172.
 "Evening Telegraph," quoted, 135.
 "Exchequer of the Jews" (Gross), 6.
 "Exclusion Bill" of Shaftesbury, 127
 Ezekiel, Jacob, ref. to, 104 (note), 105 (note).
 "Ezra Stiles and the Jews" (Kohut), ref. to, 47 (note), 48 (note), 55 (note), 65 (note).
 "False Jew, A; or a Wonderful Discovery of a Scot, baptised at London for a Christian, circumcised at Rome to act a Jew; rebaptised at Hexham for a Believer, but found out at Newcastle to be a cheat" (Welde), 37 (note).
 Falwell, James, 97 (note), 98 (note).
 Faris, James, 98 (note).
 Faro, Solomon Gabay, 111.
 Federal Reporter, ref. to, 146 (note).
 Fennish, Taker, 26, 27.
 Ferdinand, Philip, 46.
 Fernandes, Nunes, 112.
 Fernow, B., editor "Records of New Amsterdam," ref. to, 88 (note).
 Ferrar, Senhor Dictor Abraham, 116 (note).
 Ferreira, Antonio, 117.
 Ferreira, Francisco, 117.
 "First Census of the United States, 1790," ref. to, 100 (note).
 Fita, Don Fidel, 9.
 Flores, Martin, 111.
 Florida, law on consanguineous marriages, 138.
 Flower, George, 12.
 Flower, Richard, 12, 13.
 Fonse, Monsieur, 123.
 "Fontes rerum Judaicarum," published by Société des Études Juives, 2.
 Ford, Paul Leicester, "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," ref. to, 162.
 Forrest, William S., quoted, 103.
 Foulke, 92.
 France, societies in, for study of Jewish history, 2.
 Francia, Domingo, 111.
 Francia, Francisco, 112.
 Francia, Petrus, 112.
 "Francisco de Faria, an American Jew, and the Popish Plot," by Lee M. Friedman, 115-132.
 Franks, David, of Philadelphia, 90, 91.
 letter to Washington, quoted, 91.
 Franks, David S., 11.
 Franks, David S., correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and, quoted, 22-28.
 letter to John Jay, quoted, 28.
 letter of P. Butler to Thomas Jefferson concerning, quoted, 29.
 Franks, Henry, 100.
 Franks, Michael, 90.
 Franks, Moses, 91.
 Franks, Moses, of Virginia, 99.
 Frazier. See under Frazon.
 Frazon (Frazier), 54, 55 (note).
 Fredericksburg Lodge, No. 4, 91.
 "Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1907" (Barratt and d Sachse), ref. to, 94 (note).
 Freidus, A. S., 153.
 French and Indian War, Jews and, 89, 90, 91.
 Friedenber, Albert M., Note on "Moses Wassermann, the Author of 'Judah Touro,'" 152-154.
 Friedenber, Albert M., ref. to, 138 (note), 146 (note).
 Friedenwald, Dr. Herbert, ref. to, 140 (note), 144 (note).
 Friedenwald, Jonas, 165.
 Friedenwald, Joseph, necrology, 165.
 Friedman, Lee M., on "Francisco de Faria, an American Jew and the Popish Plot," 115-132.
 Friss, Armin, editor "Monumenta Hungariae Judaica, 1092-1539," 8.
 Fuller, 78.
 Gabay, Abraham Jaques, 111.
 Gabay, David, 110.

- Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, 161, 162.
 "Gallia Judaica" (Gross), 2.
 "Gallia Orientalis" (Colomesius), ref. to, 79.
 "Gaming World" (Rouge et Noir), alluded to, 54 (note).
 Gans, Eduard, 147, 149.
 letter to Mordecai M. Noah, quoted, 147, 148.
 Garfield Hospital, Washington, 167.
 Gaster, 1.
 Gayo, James. See under Gayo, Moses Hamos.
 Gayo, Moses Hamos (James), 110 and (note).
 Gee, Joshua, 53.
 Geiger, Ludwig, "Die Juden in Berlin," alluded to, 1.
 editor "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland," 5.
 Gentius, 79.
 Georgia, 85, 86.
 Germany, societies in, for study of Jewish history, 3, 4, 5, 9.
 B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge for, 5.
 "Germania Judaica," being prepared by Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, 9.
 "Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums," 9.
 Gibbon, alluded to, 49.
 Gibbons, Cardinal, 165.
 Gideon, Abraham, 112.
 Gideon, Rowland, 112.
 Gideon, Sampson, 112.
 Gilpin, ref. to, 93 (note).
 Gohory, Jeremiah, 111.
 Goldmann, Dr., 7.
 Goldman, Francis, 99.
 Gomez, Benjamin, 164.
 Gomez, Esther, 163.
 Gomez, Franciscus, 112.
 Gomez, Mordecai, 163.
 Gomez, Moses, 164.
 Gomez, Rebeka, 163.
 Gommès, Johannes Martins, 110.
 Gompers, Bathsheba, 164.
 Gottheil, Professor, ref. to, 31 (note).
 Graetz, alluded to, 1.
 "Grammatices Hebraicae tres partes 1586" (Avenarius), 34.
 Grand Island, 147.
 Grant, Lieut.-Gen., 155, 156, 157.
 Gratiot, 95.
 Gratz, Bernard, 101.
 Gratz College, Philadelphia, 107, 171.
 Gratz, Hyman, 107.
 Gratz, Michael, 92, 93, 101, 107.
 Gratz, Rebecca, 93, 107.
 Gratz, Simon, 105.
 "Graves at Newport" (Tuckerman), ref. to, 89 (note).
 Green, Samuel A., editor "Diary of Increase Mather," ref. to, 80 (note).
 Gross, Dr. Charles, 2, 6.
 Guisius, 78.
 Gutekunst, F., 107, 108.
 Guttes, Luis Dias (Lewis Dias), 110 and (note).
 Hackenburg, Wm. B., correspondence with Gov. Hoyt, regarding Thanksgiving Proclamation, 134, 135.
 Hackenburg, William B., on "Documents regarding the Thanksgiving Proclamation of Governor Hoyt of Pennsylvania (1880)," 133-135.
 Harby, Isaac, 11.
 Hamilton, Stanislaus Murray, editor "Letters to Washington," ref. to, 91 (note).
 Hall's report of Committee on Revolutionary Claims, ref. to, 97 (note).
 Hamilton, 161.
 "Harper's Monthly Magazine," ref. to, 89 (note).
 Harris, Alexander (Rabbi Alexander), 163.
 Harrison v. State, case of, ref. to, 139 (note).
 Hart, Abraham, 108.
 Hart, Abraham L., 108.
 Hart, Asher, 163.
 Hart, Ephraim, 163.
 Hart, Frances, 163.
 Hart, Jacob, 164.

- Hart, Joseph, 99.
 Hart, Lyon, 104.
 Hart, Phoebe Rosa, 164.
 Hart, Samuel, 164.
 Hartogensis, Benjamin H., on "Joseph Friedenwald," 165.
 Hartogensis, Benjamin H., on "Rhode Island and Consanguineous Jewish Marriages," 137-146.
 Harts, Joshua, 160.
 Hartsinck, Admiral, 17.
 Harvard College, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 66, 74, 75, 80, 81.
 "Harvard Graduates" (Sibley), ref. to, 40 (note), 45 (note), 51 (note), 76 (note), 77 (note).
 Hays, David, 163.
 Hays, Moses M., 104.
 "Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge" (Neubauer and Stern), 4.
 "Hebräische Bibliographie" (Steinschneider), ref. to, 79 (note).
 Hebraism, influence on New England marriage laws, 141, 142, 143.
 Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, 171.
 "Hebrew Gramat," in Elder William Brewster's Library, 34.
 Hebrew Hospital and Asylum Association, Baltimore, 165.
 "Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England prior to 1700," by Rev. D. de Sola Pool, 31-83.
 Hebrew Sunday School Society, Philadelphia, 171.
 "Hebrews in America" (Markens), ref. to, 100 (note), 105 (note).
 Heitman, F. B., "Historical Register," ref. to, 98 (note), 99 (note).
 Heller, R. Jom Tob Lipmann, 7.
 Hendricks, Abm., 100.
 Hendricks, Jochebed Sarah (Sarah), 164.
 Hendricks, Sarah. See under Hendricks, Jochebed Sarah.
 Hendricks, Uriah, 163, 164.
 Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, 47, 116 (note).
 Henriques, Abraham Baruh, 112.
 Henriques, Abraham Duens, 112.
 Henriques (Enriques), Daniel Bueno, 110 and (note).
 Henriques, H. S. Q., quoted, 112, 113.
 alluded to, 146 (note).
 Henriques, Jacob Bueno, Jr., 112.
 Henriques, Joshua Bueno, 112.
 Henriques, Manuel, 112.
 Henriques, Petrus, 112.
 Henriques, Petrus, Sr., 112.
 Henriquez, Petrus, 112.
 Henriquez, Abraham Gomez, 111.
 Henriquez, David Gomez, 111.
 Henriquez, Isaac, 110.
 Henriquez, Pierre, 112.
 Henry, Aaron, 104.
 Herculano, alluded to, 150.
 Hiersemann, Karl W., catalogue of, 149.
 Hispanic Society of America, 151.
 "History of Harvard University" (Quincy), ref. to, 49 (note).
 "History of Matrimonial Institutions" (Howard), ref. to, 142 (note).
 "History of Own Times" (Burnet), quoted, 123 (note).
 "History of Plymouth Plantation" (Bradford), quoted, 32.
 ref. to, 75 (note).
 "History of Rhode Island" (Arnold), ref. to, 143 (note), 144 (note).
 "History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews at London" (Gaster), 1.
 "History of the German Element in Virginia" (Schuricht), ref. to, 99 (note).
 "History of the Inquisition in Spain" (Lea), alluded to, 150, 151.
 "History of the Jews in England" (Hyamson), 7.
 "History of Virginia" (Beverly), ref. to, 88 (note).
 "Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity" (Forrest), ref. to, 103 (note).

- "Historical Register" (Heitman), ref. to, 98 (note), 99 (note).
- "Historical Sketch of Fredericksburg Lodge" (Quinn), alluded to, 91 (note).
- Historische Commission des Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeindebundes, 3, 5.
- Historische Gesellschaft, Die, der Provinz Posen, 8.
- Historische Kommission der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien, 7.
- Hoar, Dr. Leonard, 75, 77, 80.
- Hody, 78.
- Hoeniger and Stern, editors, 4.
- Hollander, J. H., ref. to, 93 (note), 143 (note).
- Hollingworth, Levi, 101.
- Holt, John, 98 (note).
- "Hope of Israel" (Menasseh ben Israel), alluded to, 69 (note).
- "Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae" (Lightfoot), alluded to, 49.
- Horovitz, Rabbi Dr., 1.
- Hotten, John Camden, ref. to, 88 (note).
- Hottinger, 79.
- House of Commons, 125, 126, 127, 128.
- House of Lords, 116, 117, 118, 123, 124, 125.
- Houston, John, letter of Mordecai Sheftall to, quoted, 159.
- Howard, Professor, quoted, 141, 142.
- Hoyt, Governor of Pennsylvania, documents regarding Thanksgiving Proclamation of, 133-135.
- Hühner, Leon, on "The Jews of Virginia from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century," 85-105.
- Hühner, Leon, Note on "Jefferson's Contemplated Offer of the Post of Attorney-General of the United States to Moses (?) Levy, of Philadelphia," 161, 162.
- Hühner, Leon, ref. to, 31 (note), 55, 57, 69, 85 (note), 105 (note).
- Hungary, societies in, for study of Jewish history, 8.
- Hyamson, Albert M., 7.
- ref. to, 61 (note).
- Hyde, 78.
- Ibn Ezra, 58, 68, 78.
- Illinois, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- Illinois State Historical Library, 95.
- Indian-Israel theory, 42, 59, 60, 61, 69 (note), 81.
- Indiana, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- "Influence of the Old Testament on Legislation in the Colony of New Haven" (Friedenwald), ref. to, 140 (note).
- "Inquisition Documents," Note on, 149-151.
- "In re Rodgers," ref. to, 146 (note).
- International Congress of Red Cross, 167.
- Irving, Washington, alluded to, 96.
- Isaac (Isaacs), David, 100 (note), 104, 105.
- Isaac (Isaacs), Frances, 100 (note).
- Isaac (Isaacs), Hays, 100 (note).
- Isaac (Isaacs), Henrietta, 100 (note).
- Isaac (Isaacs), Isaiah, 100, 104, 105.
- Isaac (Isaacs), Isaiah, Jr., 100 (note).
- Isaac, John, 99.
- Isaac (Isaacs), Martha, 100 (note).
- Isaac Nathan b. Kalonymos of Arles, 68.
- Isacke, Rebecca, 88.
- Isacks, Abraham Mears, 158.
- prayer by, quoted, 158.
- Isaacs, Brandly, 164.
- Isaacs, David. See under Isaac, David.
- Isaacs, Frances. See under Isaac, Frances.
- Isaacs, Hays. See under Isaac, Hays.
- Isaacs, Henrietta. See under Isaac, Henrietta.
- Isaacs, Isaiah. See under Isaac, Isaiah.

- Isaacs, Isalah, Jr. See under Isaac, Isalah, Jr.
- Isaacs, Martha. See under Isaac, Martha.
- Isaacs, Simeon, 164.
- Israel, David, 110.
- Israel, Eleanor, 90 (note).
- Israel family of Albemarle County, 90, 98 (note).
- Israel, Captain Isaac, 98 and 98 (note), 99 (note).
- Israel, Michael, 90.
- Israel, Sarah, 90.
- Israel, Solomon, 90.
- "Israelitische Annalen," ref. to, 154.
- Jacob, 100 (note).
- Jacob, Moses, 105.
- Jacobs, Benjamin, of New York, 163.
- Jacobs, Benjamin, of Virginia, 99.
- Jacobs, Hannah, 164.
- Jacobs, Dr. Joseph, 6.
- Jacobs, S., 102.
- Jacobs and Wolf, "Anglo-Jewish Bibliography," 6.
- Jacobs and Wolf, "Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica," ref. to, 37 (note), 52 (note).
- James II., 109.
- Jamonsville, commander of French, 89.
- Jay, John, 25, 27.
draft of letter of David S. Franks to, quoted, 28, 29.
- Jefferson, Thomas, correspondence with American Jews, ref. to, 11, 30.
correspondence between Joseph Marx and, quoted, 11-17.
correspondence between Moses Myers and, quoted, 17.
correspondence between Cohen family and, quoted, 18-20.
letter to Dr. De La Motta, quoted, 21.
correspondence with David S. Franks, quoted, 22-28.
letter of P. Butler to, concerning David S. Franks, quoted, 29.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 94.
- "Jefferson's Contemplated Offer of the Post of Attorney-General of the United States to Moses (?) Levy of Philadelphia," Note, by Leon Hühner.
- "Jews in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race" (Thorowgood), alluded to, 60 (note).
- "Jewry, The, of the Restoration" (Wolf), ref. to, 117 (note).
- "Jews in America, or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some Additions to the former Conjectures" (Thorowgood), alluded to, 60 (note), 61 (note).
- "Jews in Connection with the Colleges of the Thirteen Original States prior to 1800" (Hühner), ref. to, 31 (note).
- "Jews of Nevis, The," Note, by N. Darnell Davis, 160.
- "Jews, The, and the English Law" (Henriques), ref. to, 112 (note).
- "Jews, The, in Boston till 1875" (Lebowich), ref. to, 57.
- "Jews, The, of New England, other than Rhode Island, prior to 1800" (Hühner), ref. to, 55, 57.
- "Jews, The, of Philadelphia" (Morais), alluded to, 98 (note), 162.
- "Jews, The, of Virginia from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century," by Leon Hühner, 85-105.
- "Jewish Chronicle," ref. to, 146 (note).
- "Jewish Comment," ref. to, 22 (note).
- "Jewish Encyclopedia," ref. to, 22 (note), 86 (note), 140 (note), 163, 164.
alluded to, 162.
- Jewish Hospital of New York, 167.
See also under Mount Sinai Hospital.
- Jewish Historical Society of England, 6.
- "Transactions," 6.

- "Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce" (Mielziner), ref. to, 138 (note).
- "Jewish Marriages and the English Law" (Henriques), alluded to, 146 (note).
- Jewish Protector and Aid Society, New York, 168, 169.
- "Jewish Quarterly Review," ref. to, 61 (note), 154.
- Jewish Theological Seminary Association, 168.
- Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 168.
- Teachers' Institute of, 168.
- Jonas, Abraham, 152.
- Jones, Charles C., ref. to, 85 (note).
- Jones, Mrs. Elizabeth, 89.
- Jones, Richard, 89.
- "Joseph Simon Cohen," by Charles J. Cohen, 107, 108.
- Josephus, translation of, alluded to, 2.
- Jost, alluded to, 1.
- "Journal of the Committee of Safety of Virginia," ref. to, 192.
- "Journals of the House of Lords," quoted, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124.
- ref. to, 118 (note).
- Judah, Baruch, 104.
- Judah, Gershom, 104.
- Judah, Isaac H., 104.
- Judah, Manuel, 104.
- Judah, Mrs. Jessie, 164.
- "Judah Touro: Ein Gentleman semitischer Abstammung" (Wassermann), 152, 153.
- "Juden, Die, in Berlin" (Geiger), alluded to, 1.
- "Judenbuch, Das, der Scheffstrasse zu Wien, 1389-1420" (Goldmann), 7.
- "Judenschreinsbuch, Das, der Laurenzpfarre zu Koeln" (Hoeningher and Stern), 4.
- "Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619" (Landau and Wachstein), 7.
- Kansas, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- Kilbye, Richard, 78.
- Kimchi, 58, 68, 78.
- King, Eliezar, 163.
- King, John, 78.
- Knorr von Rosenroth, Baron, 79.
- Knowles, Sir Henry, 103.
- Kohler, Max J., on "Unpublished Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Some American Jews," 11-30.
- Kohler, M. J., ref. to, 86 (note), 100 (note), 140 (note), 143 (note), 144 (note), 147.
- Kohut, G. A., ref. to, 47 (note), 48 (note), 55, 65 (note).
- Labatto, Abraham Cohen, 110.
- La Croix, 95.
- Lafayette, General, 97, 98.
- Lamego, Abigail, 113 (note).
- Lamego, Isaac, 113 (note).
- Landau and Wachstein, editors
"Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619," 7.
- Laud, Archbishop, 34, 59.
- Lausada, Antonius, 111.
- Lauzada (Loisado, Louzado), Aaron Baron (Aaron Baruch or Baruk), 111 and (note).
- "Lawes, The, of Harvard College" of the year 1655, quoted, 48.
- "Laws of New York, 1893," ref. to, 138 (note).
- Lawson, General, 97.
- Lazarus, Josephine, 164.
- Lazarus, Samuel, 163.
- Lazeuda (Louzado), Abraham Barah, 111 and (note).
- Lea, alluded to, 150, 151.
- Lebowich, Joseph, ref. to, 31 (note), 45 (note), 57.
- Lee, Arthur, 93.
- Legardo, Elias, 88.
- Lehman, Emanuel, 157.
- "Lehman, Mayer, in Correspondence with Gen. U. S. Grant, Jefferson Davis and Gov. T. H. Watts, of Alabama," Note on, by Isaac Markens, 154-157.
- Lemosim. See under Limousin.
- L'Empereur, 79.
- Lenogin, Mr., 28.
- Lenox Library, 92 (note), 93 (note), 99 (note), 102 (note).

- L'Estrange, Sir Hamon, "Americans no Jewes . . .," alluded to, 60 (note).
- "Letter, A, of Menasseh ben Israel," ref. to, 116 (note).
- "Letters to Washington" (Hamilton, ed.), ref. to, 91 (note).
- Leusden, John, 59, 73, 77, 79, 81.
correspondence with Increase Mather, 59, 61, 62, 63, 75.
- Leusden's "Hebrew Bible," 52.
- Leverett, diary of, cited, 48.
- Levi, Aaron (Antonio Montezinos), 60.
- Levi, Abraham (Regio or Rizio, Abraham Levi), 111 and (note).
- Levi, Juda, 99.
- Levita, Elias, 80.
- Levy, Aaron, 105.
- Levy, Benjamin, 112.
- Levy, Colonel, 89.
- Levy, Esther, 164.
- Levy, Hayman, 163.
- Levy, Hezekiah, 91.
- Levy, Isaac, 95, 96 and (note).
- Levy, Jochebed, 164.
- Levy, John, of James City County, Virginia, 88.
- Levy, John, of Warwick County, Virginia, 100.
- Levy, Julia, 166.
- Levy, Moses, 162.
- Levy, Richa, 163.
- Levy, Sampson, 162.
- Levy, Simeon, 166.
- Levy, Solomon, 112.
- Levy, Solomon, of Amherst County, Virginia, 100.
- Levy, Solomon, of Warwick County, Virginia, 100.
- Lewis, Nathaniel, 130.
- Lewis, William, 129, 130, 131, 132.
- "Lexicon" [Hebrew] of Buxtorf, 34, 76, 77.
- "Life of Isaac Casaubon," ref. to, 46.
- "Life of John Cotton" (McClure), ref. to, 31 (note).
- "Life of John Cotton" (Whiting), ref. to, 36 (note).
- "Life, The, and Errors of John Dunton," quoted, 77.
- Lightfoot, John, 49, 76, 77, 78.
- "Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae," alluded to, 49.
- Limosin. See under Limousin.
- Limousin (Lemosin, Limosin), Mr., 25, 26.
- Lippitt, Governor, of Rhode Island, 172.
- "Lincoln and the Jews," Note on, by Walter S. Mayer, 151, 152.
- Lincoln, Abraham, 167.
- Lincoln, Attorney-General, 161.
- "List, A, of Jews Made Denizens in the Reigns of Charles II and James II, 1661-1687." Contributed by Samuel Oppenheim, 109-113.
- "List, A, of Soldiers of the Virginia Line on Continental Establishment, who have received Certificates for the balances of their full pay, agreeable to an Act of Assembly passed November Session, 1781," ref. to, 99 (note).
- Livingston, Brockholst, 161, 162.
- Lloyd, Sir Philip, 122.
- Loisado, Aron Baruk. See under Lauzada, Aaron Baron.
- London, Jewish cemetery in, 53.
- London, Synagogues. See under Talmud Torah Synagogue, London.
- Lopez, Andrew, 112.
- Lepez, David, 111.
- Lopez, Roderigo, 46.
- Loth, Joseph, necrology, 166.
- Louisiana, law on consanguineous marriages, 138, 146 (note).
- Lousada (Louzado), David Baruh (Baruch), 110 and (note).
- Lousada, Emanuel Baruch, 113 (note).
- Lousada, James (Jacob) Baruch. See under Louzada, James Baruch.
- Louzada, Aaron, 164.
- Louzada (Lousada), James (Jacob) Baruch, 113 and (note).
- Louzado, Aaron Baruch. See under Lauzada, Aaron Baron.
- Louzado, David Baruch. See under Lousada, David Baruh.

- Louzado. See under Lazeuda.
 Love, John, 52.
 Lupo, Albino, 88.
 Luther, 69, 70 (note).
 Luttrell, "Brief Relation," ref. to, 117 (note), 128 (note).
 Lyon, Richard, 43.
- McClure, A. W., "Life of John Cotton," ref. to, 31 (note).
 Macknamarra, John, 132.
 "Mädchen, Die, von Chalbar" (Wassermann), 154.
 Madison, James, 94.
 quoted, 93.
 "Madison Papers" (Gilpin), ref. to, 93 (note).
 Madrid Academy of history, "Bulletin" of, 9.
 "Magazine of History," ref. to, 22 (note), 29 (note).
 "Magnalia Christi Americana" (Mather), quoted, 32, 36, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73.
 ref. to, 67 (note).
 Maimonides, 68.
 Maria Eleanor, wife of Charles Ludovic of the Palatinate, 79.
 Markens, Isaac, Note on "Mayer Lehman in Correspondence with Gen. U. S. Grant, Jefferson Davis and Gov. T. H. Watts, of Alabama," 154-157.
 Markens, ref. to, 100 (note), 105 (note).
 Marques, Antonius Rodrigues (Rodrigus, Anthony, 112 and (note).
 Marranos, early presence of, in New England, 58.
 "Marriage, Divorce and Separation" (Bishop), ref. to, 139 (note), 145 (note).
 Marshall, Louis, on "Adolphus S. Solomons," 166-170.
 Martinez, Jacob Vas, 112.
 Martinez, Philipp, 113.
 "Martyrologium, Das, des Nürnberger Memorbuch" (Salfeld), 4.
 Marx, Alexander, on "Societies for the Promotion of the Study of Jewish History," 1-9.
- Marx, Asher, 104.
 Marx, Joseph, 102, 104.
 correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and, quoted, 11-17.
 Maryland, law on consanguineous marriages, 138, 139.
 Maryland, law reports, ref. to, 139 (note).
 Mascarenhas, Fernando Martinez, 150.
 Masonry, in Virginia, Jews and, 91, 104 (note).
 in North Carolina, Jews and, 94.
 Masonic lodges, and Jews, 144.
 Massachusetts, Hebrew culture in, 32.
 law on consanguineous marriages in, 142.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, library of, 44.
 Mather, Cotton, 34, 47, 48, 50, 54, 55 (note), 59, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80.
 Mather, Cotton, "Magnalia Christi Americana," quoted, 32, 36, 45, 48, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61.
 ref. to, 67.
 Mather, Increase, 36, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 65, 74, 77, 80, 81.
 ref. to, 46 (note).
 letter to Joseph Dudley quoted, 57, 58.
 correspondence with John Leusden, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 75.
 Mather, Increase, "Cases of Conscience," quoted, 53, 54.
 Mather, Increase, "Mystery of Israel's Salvation," cited, 58.
 alluded to, 78.
 Mather, Increase, "Remarkable Providences," cited, 56, 57.
 quoted, 57.
 Mather, Nathanael, 51, 55, 56, 62.
 Mathias, Jone, 113.
 Mathias, Judith, 113.
 Matter of Williams, 2 City Court Reports, 143.
 ref. to, 138 (note).

- Maule, Tom, 71, 72.
 Mayer, Adolph H., 151, 152.
 Mayer, Walter S., Note on "Lincoln and the Jews," 151, 152.
 "Mayflower," 32, 34.
 Mazahad, James, 112.
 Meade, Gen. George Gordon, 107.
 "Medical Men of the Revolution" (Toner), alluded to, 98 (note).
 Menasseh ben Israel, 7, 41 (note), 60, 69 (note), 116 (note).
 Mendelssohn [Moses], alluded to, 5.
 Mendes, Abraham Desosa. See under Mendes, Abraham de Souza.
 Mendes, Abraham de Souza (Mendes, Abraham Desosa), 111 and (note).
 Mendez, Ferdinando, 112.
 Mendez, Joseph, 111.
 Mendez, Menasses, 112.
 "Menorah, The," ref. to, 31 (note), 45 (note), 140 (note).
 Mercer, Captain, 90.
 Mercer, Mr., aided by Haym Salomon, 93.
 Meres, Frances, 113.
 Meres, Judith, 113.
 Metzger, Isidor, on "Joseph Loth," 166.
 Meza, Emanuel De Fonseca, 110.
 Michigan, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Mikvé Israel Congregation, Philadelphia, 98 (note), 108.
 Mielziner, ref. to, 138 (note).
 Mildmay, Sir Henry, 43.
 Missouri, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Mistrael, Mr., 28, 29.
 Mitchel, Jonathan, 71.
 Mitchell, Rebecca E., Note, "An Early Prayer in English," 158.
 "Mitteilungen aus dem Gesamtarchiv," 5.
 "Modest Enquiry, A, into the Grounds and Occasions of a late Pamphlet Intituled a Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New England," ref. to, 55 (note).
 Molinaea, Maria, 79.
 Monis, Judah, 65 (note).
 Monis, Judah, "Nothing but the Truth," preface, ref. to, 46 (note).
 Montague, Rice D., 98 (note).
 Montana, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Montefiore Home for Chronic Invalids, New York, 168.
 Montefiore, Sir Moses, 168.
 Montezinos, Antonio. See under Levi, Aaron.
 Montgomery, Captain, 116.
 "Monumenta Hungariae Judaica, 1092-1539" (Friss, ed.), 8.
 Moodey, cousin of Judge Sewell, 52.
 Morais, alluded to, 98 (note), 162.
 Mordecai, Gratz, ref. to, 105 (note).
 Mordecai, Isaac, 104.
 Mordecai, Jacob, 100, 104.
 Mordecai, Mordecai M., 104.
 Mordecai, Moses, 105.
 Mordecai, Samuel, 104.
 ref. to, 99 (note), 102 (note).
 More, Henry, 78.
 Moore, Professor G. F., "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika," ref. to, 31 (note), 72 (note).
 Morocco treaty, and David S. Franks, 25, 26, 27.
 Moore, Dorothea, 79.
 Morris, Robert, 93.
 Mosaic law concerning consanguineous marriage, 137, 138, 142.
 Moser, M., 148.
 Moses, Andrew, 99.
 Moses, Ezekiel, 99.
 Moss, Lucien, ref. to, 102 (note).
 Mosse, Joseph, 88.
 Mount Nebo Lodge, No. 257, F. & A. M., New York, 166.
 Mount Sinai Hospital of New York, 157.
 Mount Sinai Hospital. See also under Jewish Hospital of New York.
 Müller, Dr. Joel, 4.
 Municipal Lodging House of Washington, 167.
 Münster, Sebastian, 80.
 Myer, Jacob, 90.
 Myer, Philip, 30.
 Myers, Abraham, 104.
 Myers, Barton, 103 (note).

- Myers, Benjamin, 104.
 Myers, Hyan, 103.
 Myers, Levi, 105.
 Myers, Mordecai, 104.
 Myers, Moses, 103.
 correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and, quoted, 17.
 Myers, Mrs. Rachel, 163.
 Myers, Samuel, 99, 102, 104.
 Myers, Sloë, 163.
 Myers, Solomon, 163.
 "Mystery of Israel's Salvation" (Mather), cited, 58.
 alluded to, 78.
- Nathan, Robert, 89.
 Nathan, Simon, 94.
 Nathans, R. Isaac, 68.
 "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony" (Scot-tow), ref. to, 69 (note).
 Naturalization of Jews in colonial Rhode Island, 144.
 Navarro, Aaron, 110.
 Navigation Act, of 1740, 143.
 Nebraska, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Nehemiah, Seigneur Moses, 89.
 Neubauer and Stern, editors "Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge," 4.
 Nevada, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Nevis, Jews of, 160.
 New England, Hebrew learning among Puritans of, 31-83.
 influence of Hebraism on marriage contract in, 141, 142, 143.
 "New England's First Fruits," quoted, 38, 39, 40.
 New Era Club, New York, 169.
 Newport, 86, 89, 143.
 congregation in, 144.
 "Newport Historical Magazine, The," 172.
 Newport Historical Society, 172.
 "Newport Mercury," ref. to, 104 (note), 172.
 New York, 85, 86.
 law on consanguineous marriages, 138.
- New York Congregation, 105. See also under Shearith Israel Congregation, New York.
 New York, law reports, ref. to 138 (note), 145 (note).
 New York, prayer during prevalence of yellow fever in, quoted, 158.
 New York Public Library, 153, 159.
 New York Executive Board of Red Cross Relief Committee, 168.
 Nicholas, Col. W. C., 13, 14, 15, 16.
 Nichols, Matilda, 172.
 Noah, Manuel, 164.
 Noah, Mordecai M., 11.
 "Noah, Mordecai M., A Letter to Him, Dated 1822, from Eduard Gans and Leopold Zunz, relating to the Emigration of German Jews to America," Note, by Samuel Oppenheim, 147-149.
 Noah, Samuel, 102.
 Noguera, Andrew Alvareo, 112.
 Non-Importation Agreement of 1765, Jewish signers, 92, 93.
 Norman, Surgeon, 98.
 North Carolina, Jews as Masons in, 94.
 North Dakota, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Nunes, Jacob Franco, 112.
 Nunez, Abrahamus, 112.
- Oates, Titus, 115, 119, 120, 124, 128.
 "Oath, The, of a Free-Man," 37.
 "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion," ref. to, 154.
 Ohio, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Oklahoma, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Old Testament, and New England Puritans, 33, 48, 49, 81, 82, 83, 141, 142, 143.
 influence on colonial United States, 144.
 Oppenheim, Samuel, on "A List of Jews Made Denizens in the Reigns of Charles II and James II, 1661-1687," 109-113.

- Oppenheim, Samuel, Note on "Mordcaim M. Noah. A Letter to Him, from Eduard Gans and Leopold Zunz, Dated 1822, Relating to the Emigration of German Jews to America," 147-149.
- Oppenheim, Samuel, Note on "Two Sheftall Letters," 159, 160.
- Oppenheim, Samuel, alluded to, 88 (note), 92 (note), 102 (note). ref. to, 91 (note), 104 (note), 144 (note), 151.
- Orange, Prince of, 116.
- "Oratio quam Comitibus Cantabrigiensibus Americanis Peroravit" (Whiting), ref. to, 44.
- Oregon, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- "Origem, Da, e Estabelecimento da Inquisicao em Portugal" (Herculano), alluded to, 150.
- "Origin of the Republican Form of Government in the United States" (Straus), alluded to, 144 (note).
- "Original List, The, of Persons who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700" (ed. Hotten), ref. to, 88 (note).
- Ossory, Earl of, 123.
- Oxford University, study of Hebrew in, 35, 46, 47, 74.
- Pacheco (Pachoe), Moses Israel, 110.
- Pacheco, Pedro, 150.
- Pachoe, Moses Israel. See under Pacheco, Moses Israel.
- Pagninus (Paynin), Sanctus, "The-saurus Linguae Sanctae," alluded to, 76 (note).
- "Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition" (Wolf), ref. to, 46.
- Parker, Paltah, 72 (note).
- Paynin. See under Pagninus, Sanctus.
- Pennsylvania, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- Pennsylvania Prison Society, 171.
- Pentecost, Hon. Dorsey, 101.
- Pereira, Aaron, 112.
- Pereira, Abraham, 111.
- Pereira, Lopez, 112.
- Pereyra, Manuel Lopez, 112.
- Perry, Michael, 76.
- "Personal Names in Henning's Statutes at Large of Virginia" (Joseph C. Casey), ref. to, 89 (note), 90 (note).
- Peyreyra, Moseh, 111.
- "Philadelphia Congregations." See under Mikvé Israel Congregation, Philadelphia.
- Philip IV. of Portugal, 149.
- Philp & Solomons, 166.
- Philippson, Martin, 9.
- Philips, Levin, 99.
- Phillipson, David, ref. to, 154.
- Phillips, A. L., 163.
- Phillips, Rev. George, 77.
- Phillips, Mrs. N. Taylor (Rosalie S.), 163, 167.
- Phillips, Rev. Samuel, 77.
- Phillips, Sarah Haya, 163.
- Fierce's "Almanac for 1639," 37.
- "Planter's Plea, The" (White), ref. to, 69 (note).
- Pococke, 78.
- Pool, Rev. D. de Sola, on "Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England prior to 1700," 31-83.
- Pool, D. de Sola, Note on "A Burial Place for the Jewish Nation Forever," 163, 164.
- "Poole's Index to U. S. Government Publications," ref. to 96 (note), 97 (note).
- Popish Plot, and an American Jew, 115-132.
- Porges, "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," ref. to, 76 (note).
- Portugal, Inquisition in, 149.
- Powis, Lord, 121, 125.
- Prance, Mr., 127.
- Prather, Colonel Basil, 101 (note).
- "Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.," ref. to, 32 (note), 33, 34 (note), 44 (note), 48 (note), 51 (note), 55 (note), 66 (note), 77 (note), 80 (note).
- Providence Hospital, Washington, 167.

- Psalter, Hebrew-English, of John Leusden, dedication, quoted, 63, 64.
 preface, quoted, 64, 73.
 Hebrew-Latin, of John Leusden, dedication, quoted, 65.
 Public office, Jews holding, in United States, 105.
 Puritans of New England, Hebrew learning among, 81-83.
 Puryear, Reuben, 98 (note).
- Quay, M. S., 134.
 "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Oesterreich," 7.
 "Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland," 4.
 "Question, The, whether a Jew, born within the British Dominions, was before the making the late Act of Parliament, a Person capable, by Law, to purchase and hold Lands to him, and his Heirs. Fairly Stated and Considered by a Gentleman of Lincoln's Inn," quoted, 109-112.
 Quincy, "History of Harvard University," ref. to, 49 (note).
 Quinn, S. J., "Historical Sketch of Fredericksburg Lodge," alluded to, 91 (note).
- Ramsay, Thomas, 37 (note).
 Randolph, Governor Edmund, 11, 93, 94, 102 (note).
 Randolph, Thomas J., 14.
 Raphael, 100 (note).
 Rashi, 58, 68, 78.
 Rau, Christian. See under Ravius, Christianus.
 Ravius (Rau), Christianus, 41, 42, 59, 79.
 letter of Henry Dunster to, quoted, 41, 42.
 ref. to, 74, 80, 81.
 "Records of New Amsterdam" (Fernow, ed.), ref. to, 88 (note).
 Red Cross Society, National Association of, 167.
- "Reform Movement, The, in Judaism" (Philipson), ref. to, 154.
 "Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273" (Aronius), alluded to, 3.
 Regio, Abraham Levi. See under Levi, Abraham.
 Rehine, Zalma, 104.
 Reinach, Th., alluded to, 2.
 "Remarkable Providences" (Math-er), cited, 56, 57.
 quoted, 57.
 "Reports (House of Representatives), 27th Congress, 2d Session, No. 371," ref. to, 96 (note), 98 (note).
 126th Congress, 1st Session, No. 233, ref. to, 97 (note).
 "Reports of Cases ruled and adjudged in Courts of Pennsylvania before and since the Revolution," ref. to, 95 (note).
 Revolution, War of, Jews in, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 105.
 Revue des Études Juives, 2.
 Rczio, Antonio Rodriguez (Antonio Rodrigus), 110 and (note).
 Rczio, Jeronimo Rodriguez (Jeronimo Roderegos), 110 and (note).
 Rhode Island, 85.
 "Rhode Island and Consanguineous Jewish Marriages," by Benjamin H. Hartogensis, 137-146.
 Richardson's Equity (South Carolina), ref. to, 138 (note).
 Richmond, Amicable Society in, 102.
 Jewish cemetery, 104.
 City Council, Jewish members, 105.
 Richmond, Congregations. See under Beth Shalome Congregation, Richmond.
 Rigg, J. M., 6.
 Ritchie, Chas., letter of Cohen & Bros. to, concerning memorial to Thomas Jefferson, quoted, 20.
 "Rivista Israelitica," ref. to, 31 (note).
 Rizio, Abraham Levi. See under Levi, Abraham.
 Robertson, Rev. Robert, 160.

- Robles, Antonio Rodriguez, 111.
 Roderegos, Jeronimo. See under Rezio, Jeronimo Rodriguez.
 Rodney, 162.
 Rodriguez, Abraham, 110.
 Rodriguez, Alphonso, 112.
 Rodriguez, Gomez, 111.
 Rodriguez, Manuel, 88.
 Rodriguez, Silvedo, 88.
 Rodrigus, Anthony. See under Marques, Antonius Rodrigues.
 Rodrigus, Antonio. See under Rezio, Antonio Rodriguez.
 "Roger Williams' Calendar" (Austin), quoted, 140 (note), 141 (note), 142 (note).
 Rohania, Anna, 79.
 Rosenau, Rabbi William, ref. to, 31 (note).
 Rosenbach, A. S. W., on "David Sulzberger," 170-172.
 Rosenbach, Dr. A. S. W., alluded to, 101 (note).
 Rosenwald, Rosina, 165.
 Rouge et Noir, "The Gaming World," alluded to, 54 (note).
 Ruillan, Mr. See under Ruilland, Mr.
 Ruilland (Ruillan, Mr.), 27, 28.
 Russell, Philip Moses, 98.
 Russia, Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in, 8.
 law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Saadya, 58, 78.
 Sachse, Julius F. See under Barratt, Norris S., and Sachse, Julius F.
 Sadowsky, Jacob, 101 (note).
 Sadowsky, Joseph, 101 (note).
 Salem, Hebrew character of Indian name, 69 and (note).
 Salfeld, 4.
 Salomon, Haym, 93.
 Salter, Richard, 124.
 Saltonstall, Gurdon, 66, 80.
 Samuel, Henry, 99.
 Sanhedrin, convened by Napoleon, 12.
 Saravia, 78.
 Sasportas, Samuel, 113.
 Savannah, synagogue in, 21.
 Sawyer, Hon. Lemuel, 18.
 Saxe-Weimar, Maria Dorothea consort of Duke of, 79.
 Saxton, Mr., 44.
 Schickard, 79.
 Schudt, 79.
 Schuricht, Herrmann, ref. to, 99 (note), 101 (note).
 Schurmann, Anna Maria, 79.
 Schwarz, Dr., 7.
 Schwenter, 79.
 Scottow, Joshua, ref. to, 69 (note).
 Scroggs, Lord Chief Justice, 122, 123, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132.
 Seares, Mrs. Mary. See under Sears, Mrs. Mary.
 Sears (Seares, Seyer), Mrs. Mary, 118, 120, 124, 131.
 Seixas, Abraham, 164.
 Selden, 78.
 "Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-1284" (Rigg), 6.
 "Semitic Studies in American Colleges" (Rosenau), ref. to, 31 (note).
 "Semitics at Harvard College," 45 (note).
 Senlor, Joseph, 111.
 Sereno, Solomon Mendez, 112.
 Sergeant, Hon. John, 107.
 Serra, Antonio Gomez, 111.
 Serra, Phineas Gomez, 112.
 Serrano, Ishac, 110.
 "Settlement of the Jews in North America" (Daly), alluded to, 85 (note).
 Sewall, Judge, 51, 52, 55, 74, 77.
 diary of, quoted, 51, 53.
 letter concerning Jews, quoted, 55.
 ref. to, 54, 58 (note).
 Seyer, Mrs. Mary. See under Sears, Mrs. Mary.
 Shaftesbury (Shaftsbury), Earl of, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 127, 129, 131.
 Shaftsbury, Earl of. See under Shaftesbury, Earl of.
 Shalome Ben Shalomoh. See under "True Narrative, A," etc.
 Shearith Israel Congregation, New York, 100 (note), 163.

- Sheftall, Mrs. Francis, letter of Mordecai Sheftall to, quoted, 159, 160.
- Sheftall, Mordecai, letter to John Houston, quoted, 159.
- letter of, to his wife, quoted, 159, 160.
- Sheftall, Sheftall, 159, 160.
- Shephard, Thomas, quoted, 43.
- Sheringham, 78.
- "Shetaroth," ancient English deeds in Hebrew, edited by Davis, 6.
- Short, M., 21, 26.
- Sibley, ref. to, 40 (note), 45 (note), 51, 76 (note), 77 (note).
- Simon, 54.
- Simon, Belle, 107.
- Simon, Moses, 102.
- Simon, Richard, 79.
- Simson, Rebecca, 158.
- Simson, Sampson, 158, 167.
- Simson, Sarah, 158.
- Simson, Solomon, 158.
- Smith, Colonel, 96.
- Smith, Miles, 78.
- Smith, Thomas, 78.
- "Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century" (Bruce), ref. to, 87 (note).
- Société des Études Juives, 2.
- "Societies for the Promotion of the Study of Jewish History," by Alexander Marx, 1-9.
- Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews in Russia, 8.
- Solomon, Benjamin, 104.
- Solomon, George, 99.
- Solomon, son of Joseph, 163.
- Solomons, Adolphus S., necrology, 166-170.
- Solomons, John, 166.
- Solomons, Joseph, 164.
- Solomons, Solomon, 159.
- "Some Phases in the History of Religious Liberty with Particular Reference to the Jews" (Kohler), ref. to, 11.
- South Carolina, 85.
- law on consanguineous marriages, 138.
- South Dakota, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- Spain, study of Jewish history in, 9.
- Spencer, John, 78.
- Spotswood, Governor, 89.
- State v. Brown, ref. to case of, 146 (note).
- Steinberger, Lewis, 99.
- Steinschneider, ref. to, 76 (note), 79 (note).
- Stern, David, 99.
- Stern, Mr., 165.
- Stern. See under Hoeniger and Stern.
- Stern. See under Neubauer and Stern.
- Stiles, Ezra, diary of, ref. to, 47, 50. quoted, 48, 72 (note), 73 (note), 74 (note).
- Straus, Oscar S., ref. to, 140 (note), 142 (note).
- alluded to, 144 (note).
- Sulzberger, David, necrology, 170-172.
- Sulzberger, Leopold, 170.
- Sulzberger, Zirlah Einstein, 170.
- Surenhuys, 79.
- Synagogue at Savannah, 21.
- Synagogues, London. See under Talmud Torah Synagogue, London.
- Taeubler, Dr., 5.
- Talmud Torah Synagogue, London, 116 (note).
- Tarphon, R., 69.
- Taylor, Francis, 78.
- Taylor, James, 97 (note), 98 (note).
- "Test Laws, The, of Pennsylvania" (Westcott), ref. to, 93 (note).
- "Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme" (Reinach), alluded to, 2.
- Thacher (Thatcher), Thomas, 50, 74.
- Thanksgiving Proclamation of Governor Hoyt of Pennsylvania, documents regarding, 133-135.
- Thatcher. See under Thacher, Thomas.
- "Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae" (Sanctus Pagninus), alluded to, 76 (note).
- "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia" (Adams), ref. to, 102 (note).

- Thorowgood, Dr. Thomas, alluded to, 60 (note), 61 (note).
 Tichenor, Rev. I. T., 155, 156.
 Tilley, Benjamin James, 172.
 Tilley, Edith May, on "R. Hammett Tilley," 172.
 Tilley, Mary Chapman (Taylor), 172.
 Tilley, R. Hammett, necrology, 172.
 Tobias, John, 104.
 Tolman, Frank L., 147.
 Toner, alluded to, 98 (note).
 Tonge, Dr., 115.
 "Torbay," British prisonship, 97.
 Torres, Daniel, 164.
 "Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England," ref. to, 116 (note), 117 (note).
 Treby, Sir George, 130, 131.
 Tremellius (Tromelius), 34, 46.
 Tromelius. See under Tremellius.
 Trost, Martin, ref. to, 39 (note).
 "True Narrative, A, of God's gracious dealings with the soul of Shalome b. Shalomoh, of the circumcision after the flesh; as delivered to the Church of Christ assembled at their Meeting House, Rosemary Lane, Sept. 29th, 1699," alluded to, 52.
 Tuckerman, H. T., ref. to, 89 (note).
 "Two Sheftall Letters," Note, by Samuel Oppenheim, 159, 160.
 "Uncalendared State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.," quoted, 129-132.
 United States, law concerning consanguineous marriages, 137, 138, 139, 140, 146 (note). See also under Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.
 United States, Presidents of, and Jews. See under Arthur, Jefferson, Lincoln, Washington.
 "United States Gazette," alluded to, 105 (note).
 "Unpublished Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Some American Jews," by Max J. Kohler, 11-30.
 Usher, Archbishop, 78.
 Utah, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
 Valvassor, Wiechard, 53.
 Van Braam, Captain, 90.
 Vancouver, Charles, 101 (note).
 Van Twiller, Wouter, 96.
 Van Voorhis v. Brintnall, ref. to case of, 145 (note).
 Vane, Sir Harry, 69.
 Verney MSS., ref. to, 128 (note).
 "Virginia County Records," ref. to, 89 (note), 90 (note).
 "Virginia especially Richmond in By-gone Days" (Mordecai), ref. to, 99 (note).
 "Virginia Historical Collections," ref. to, 89 (note).
 "Virginia Historical Magazine," ref. to, 92 (note).
 Virginia, Jews in, 85-105.
 Jews as Masons in, 91, 104 (note).
 "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," ref. to, 89 (note), 99 (note).
 Vitringa, 79.
 "Voskhod," ref. to, 154.
 Vossius, 79.
 Wachstein. See under Landau and Wachstein.
 Wagenseil, 79.
 Wagstaff, Mrs., 131.
 "Wahre Liebe" (Wassermann), 154.
 Waimes. See under Weemes, Jo.
 Wakeman, Sir George, 121, 122, 123, 128.
 Walker, William, 98 (note).
 War of 1812, Jews in, 102.
 Warcup, Justice, 131, 132.

- Washington, George, 89, 90, 91, 99 (note), 101, 105, 144.
- Washington, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- "Wassermann, Moses, the Author of 'Judah Touro,'" Note on, by Albert M. Friedenberg, 152-154.
- Waterview, Va., Jewish colony at, 165.
- Watts, Gov. T. H., 154, 155, 157.
- Wayne, 97.
- Webb, James Watson, 166.
- Webb, P. Carteret, 109.
- Webster, Daniel, 167.
- Weemes (Walmes), Jo., 34.
- Weisberg v. Weisberg, ref. to case of, 138 (note).
- Weiss, Dr. Moritz, 8.
- Welde, Thomas, 37, 74.
- Westcott, Thompson, ref. to, 93 (note).
- Wheelocke, 78.
- White, Rev. John, ref. to, 69 (note).
- Whiting, Rev. Samuel, 43, 74. ref. to, 36 (note).
- "Wiener Ghetto, Das" (Schwarz), 7.
- Wiesenfeld, Mr., 165.
- Wiesenfeld & Co., 165.
- Wigglesworth, Michael, 44, 74, 76. diary of, quoted, 44, 45.
- "William and Mary Quarterly," ref. to, 88 (note).
- Williams, Roger, 140.
- Willig, Charles, 101.
- Wilner, ref. to, 140 (note).
- Wilson, Hon. James, 101.
- Winfre, John, 96 (note), 98 (note).
- "Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden" (Caro), 9.
- Wolf, David, 100.
- Wolf, Lucien, 7. ref. to, 46, 47, 117 (note). See also under Jacobs and Wolf.
- Wolf, Simon, alluded to, 93 (note). ref. to, 99 (note), 102 (note).
- Wolfe, Benjamin, 104.
- Wood, John, 90 (note).
- Woods, Rev. Edgar, ref. to, 90 (note), 98 (note), 100 (note).
- Woodson, John, 97.
- Woolf, Jacob, 100.
- "Writings of Thomas Jefferson," ref. to, 94 (note).
- "Writings, The, of Albert Gallatin" (Adams, ed.), ref. to, 161, 162.
- "Writings, The, of Thomas Jefferson" (Ford), ref. to, 162.
- Wyand, Mr., 120, 125, 126.
- Wyoming, law on consanguineous marriages, 146 (note).
- "Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis," ref. to, 31 (note).
- "Yevreiskaya Enzyklopädia," ref. to, 154.
- "Yevreiskaja Starina" (Dubnow, ed.), 8.
- York, Duke of, 127, 129, 132.
- "York Records," ref. to, 89 (note).
- Young, Alexander, ref. to, 36 (note), 69 (note).
- Young, E. J., ref. to, 51 (note), 66 (note).
- Young Women's Union, Philadelphia, 171.
- Zacuto, Abraham, 68.
- "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," ref. to, 31 (note), 72 (note).
- "Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland" (Geiger), 4, 5.
- Zuntz, Abraham, 164.
- Zunz, Leopold, 147, 149. letter to Mordecai M. Noah, quoted, 147, 148.

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I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

OBJECTS.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

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Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within

one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

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IV. The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society.

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VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

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